The Outlook

JULY 20, 1921

PRESIDENT HARDING'S PROPOSAL FOR A WORLD CONFERENCE

GRATIFICATION, mounting in some cases to jubilation, has greeted the invitation extended by President Harding to the principal Allied and Associated Powers to a conference at Washington to consider the limitation of armaments and Pacific and Far Eastern affairs.

No other Power could have done what America has in summoning this conference. Proposals on the part of every other great nation concerning disarmament or concerning the Far East would have been subject to suspicion. Great Britain, as the predominant naval power, could hardly take the initiative in asking others to limit their navies. France, of course, might have suggested a naval holiday; but she has hardly at present what the United States has, and any suggestion from her would have been discounted. Any request of that nature from Japan or Italy might have been interpreted as a request for favor. The United States, however, has interests which call for the defense of a navy and yet is strong enough to make any suggestion it pleases without fear of being thought over-timid. No little credit for this suggestion is due to Senator Borah; for he was indefatigable in pushing, first as a resolution and then as an amendment to the Naval Appropriation Bill, a provision authorizing the President to call such a conference. By including the discussion of problems of the Pacific and the Far East President Harding has gone beyond the scope of any such conference as that authorized in the Borah Amendment. Indeed, the subject of limiting armament must be made subordinate to the larger questions of policy and principle; and Mr. Harding has exercised wisdom by using the demand for a conference on armament to forward the larger idea of cooperation between the nations on matters of foreign policy.

The bearing of such a conference upon the question of the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance is obvious. That treaty was designed to preserve stability in the Far East, where Japan and Great Britain are both involved. If out of this conference comes an understanding, not only between Great Britain and Japan, but also among the other principal nations—France, Italy, and the United States—there will be less, if any, need for a special treaty between Great Britain and Japan. Of course with respect to both the Far East and naval armaments, any agreement reached by Great Britain, Japan, and the United States would undoubtedly prevail. It was wise, however, to include France and Italy because, aside from their interests as naval Powers and influences in the Orient, they are indispensable factors in world peace and justice. No question of limiting or reducing armaments of any kind can justly be considered without considering also the position of France as a neighbor of Germany. No question of naval armament can justly be considered without considering also the Mediterranean naval Power, Italy.

In extending the invitation informally, the President, through Secretary Hughes, has made it clear that, in the discussions of Far Eastern problems, China has also been invited to take part.

Some speculation has been entertained concerning the bearing of this conference upon the fortunes of the League of Nations. Some earnest advocates of the League have deplored the fact that the President did not have recourse to the League, and thus give it something to do. Others have seen in this conference the beginnings of a new association of nations which will gradually take the League's place. Those who have their minds more on means than on ends, more on organizations for justice than on justice itself, may find these speculations important. Those, however, who look for the gradual development of a sense of international law and justice, and who hope for peace as a fruit of justice, will welcome every practical measure, whatever its name, which will take justice and peace between nations out of the realm of academic discussion and into the realm of fact.

HOW FAR CAN WE TRUST MEXICO?

So far nothing practical has resulted from Secretary Hughes's plain notice to Mexico that the United States cannot resume formal relations with that country until it is assured that Americans will be free from confiscation and discrimination as regards their property rights. A long and plausible letter from President Obregon in the New York "World" has clarified, but not solved the question. Its authority was lessened when it was reported that its real writer was Mr. George Creel; but Mr. Creel modestly disclaims authorship, and it is only fair to accept the document as at least presenting Obregon's view. It is full of friendly assurances; but how far can we rely on assurances by President Obregon? His own political stability is none too firm, and one of the best points that he makes—namely, that he has no power to commit his Congress in advance or to order the courts to interpret the Mexican Constitution to meet our views—really emphasizes the difficulty of getting valid and solid proof that American lives and property shall be protected.

We are no more in a hurry than is Mexico for normal international relations. It is, then, for Mexico to find a way to establish her just intentions for the future. A year ago Senator Fall, of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, proposed that the assurances we demand should be embodied in a new treaty and that the ratification of the treaty should be followed by immediate recognition. If that course were legitimate a year ago, it might well be considered now.

It is, unfortunately, quite possible for Mexico to injure unfairly American interests without confiscation, strictly so called, and without legislation aimed solely at Americans. Mr. Obregon can point out, as he does, that the much-talked-of Article Twenty-seven of the Mexican Constitution does not in the least authorize confiscation, but simply asserts the national original ownership of natural rights while conceding the national power to transfer these rights to private ownership. This same article declares positively that such private ownership may not be destroyed "except for reasons of public utility and through indemnification." Moreover, another article of the Constitution declares that "no law shall be retroactive against any person." This flatly forbids any *ex post facto* legislation. This is all very well and very true, and it does seem to provide against the seizure of concessions to Americans. So far as law and Constitution go, at the present time, theoretically the property rights of Americans in Mexico are the same as those of Englishmen in Mexico or of Mexicans in Mexico.

But the fact that foreign property rights in Mexico cover investments of universal importance in which Mexicans themselves are but slightly interested financially—as in the case of oil, for instance—leaves a door open to such unjust and grasping legislation toward

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foreign investors as practically amounts to confiscation.

This seems to be what happened lately in Mexico when large oil wells shut down because, as the owners claim, exorbitant taxes could not be paid without destroying the business. The visit of American warships to Tampico was not a threat—nothing is more established in international law than that warships may be sent to foreign ports without a threatening purpose. But the visit of the ships seems for the present at least to have relieved the stress.

The whole question resolves itself, then, not into how Mexican courts will interpret the Constitution or what the Mexican courts may be willing to do in the way of legislation, or what President Obregon or any future President may say, but in the moral question, How can Mexico so gain the confidence of her great neighboring Republic as to make it willing to accept her promises as valid and deal with her as one strong and stable republic should deal with another?

THE WORK OF CONGRESS

THE number of matters that urgently require action by Congress is such that prospects of an early end to the present extra session are slight. The right of way just now, as far as practical, is with tariff and taxation. The first will demand thorough study and discussion, and the bill now under debate will certainly be greatly modified; the second subject has not even been taken up, but it is of prime importance and cannot be settled in a hurry. Meanwhile, it is understood that the so-called Bonus Bill (really a bill for "adjusted compensation" for veterans of the World War) must wait; the enormous sums of money involved have a direct bearing on all financial legislation. We treat of this matter elsewhere in an editorial article.

Among other important measures under consideration are those for agricultural relief by enlarging the loan privileges of Farm Loan banks, creating a farm exports corporation, and regulating grain exchanges; the Maternity Bill, through which Federal aid would be given to States in furnishing education in maternal and infant hygiene; a bill to regulate or control the work of the packing-houses; the held-over Army and Navy appropriation bills; a bill dealing with the coal industry in the interest of the consumer and of public knowledge of trade methods; a good roads bill with emphasis on maintenance as well as construction; and the bill that proposes to consolidate into one Veterans' Bureau the existing War Risk Insurance and Rehabilitation Bureaus, with provision for local offices where veterans could conveniently receive the attention they should have.

This is a bare and incomplete list of things that Congress has before it. It certainly would be surprising if it found time before the regular session begins in December to study thoroughly and act wisely on such a programme.

YORKTOWN, NEW ORLEANS, AND BELLEAU

TWO historic events may be properly commemorated if two bills now before Congress pass that body.

The first measure creates a military park at Yorktown, Virginia; the second creates a military park on the Plains of Chalmette, below the city of New Orleans, Louisiana.

Central News

MAJOR ROY C. HAYNES, THE NEW PROHIBITION COMMISSIONER

The battles of Yorktown and of New Orleans were decisive battles. The first was a culminating event in our Revolution; the second was the great event of the War of 1812, to be set down to our credit.

At Yorktown the fortifications of Cornwallis are being plowed over, shoveled down, and destroyed, and on the Plains of Chalmette there is little left to commemorate the victory of General Jackson. But the areas themselves should be preserved as military parks.

In this connection we may mention a proposal to rebuild the little village of Belleau, close to Belleau Wood, near Château Thierry, France. The proposal comes from patriotic women of the United States who have formed themselves into an association for this purpose. Our troops were forced to destroy the village in order to reach their objective, but the village should be rebuilt as a monument to the two thousand American heroes who sleep there.

The rebuilding of this little village would also be a reminder to all visitors of the fact that the living and the dead of the American forces made possible the rebuilding of France.

THE NEW PROHIBITION COMMISSIONER

THOUGH the enforcement of the Prohibition Law ought to be impartial and non-partisan, it is inevitable that the officer who is in charge of such an important function should be sympathetic with the National Administration. The man who has been selected by the Harding Administration as Prohibition Commissioner is Major Roy Haynes.

At present the Prohibition Commissioner is in the Internal Revenue office, which is a bureau in the Treasury Department. So long as the chief interest of the National Government in the enforcement of the liquor law consisted in the proper collection of the Federal tax on the sale of liquor it was natural that the enforcement of the liquor law should be under the Treasury Department. Now, however, it is announced that the Prohibition Commissioner, who is not a revenue collector but an agent of the National police power, is to be transferred from the Treasury Department to the Department of Justice.

Major Haynes is an Ohio Republican of the progressive type. His purpose in carrying out the duties of his office is a broader one than merely the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment. He regards his duties as involving the larger test of the place which the observance of the law holds in the minds of the American people. "I wish that we might have in America," he said the other day, "a revival of the regard for the sanctity and majesty of the law. I wish that it might be preached by the parents in the homes as well as by the teachers in the school; by the preacher in the pulpit, the writer and the cartoonist through the press; by the actor on the stage; by every good citizen and agency." In certain parts of the country, notably in New York City, men who would be frightened at the growth of studied disregard for law protecting property rights seem to be ready to encourage the support of disregard for the Eighteenth Amendment and its enforcing legislation. They do not seem to see that they cannot weaken the respect for laws which they do not happen to like without weakening respect for the laws in which they profoundly believe. If Major Haynes can cultivate even among the "wets" the spirit of law observance,

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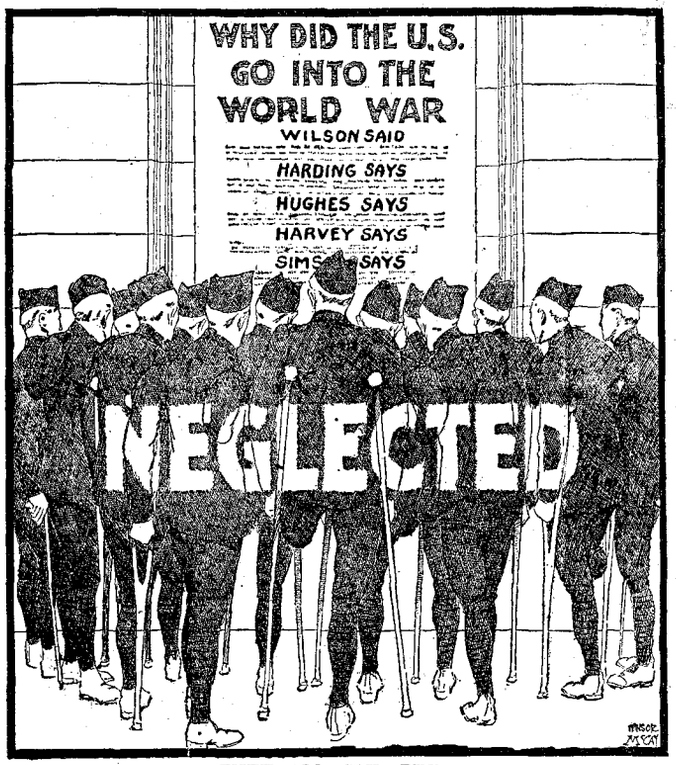
THERE'S THY REWARD—

(3 Henry VI, III, 3)

Winsor McCay in the San Francisco Examiner



THEY ALL SAY, BUT—

Thus far it has been all SAYING and no DOING. The soldiers said they would go and they WENT. They said they would fight and they FOUGHT. Some gave their lives, others eyes, arms, legs, health, nerves. All gave courageous service. All risked, and the majority lost their jobs and their places in the procession. There has been *enough talking; time to DO something*

Gale in the Los Angeles Sunday Times

DECORATED—FOR TELLING THE TRUTH

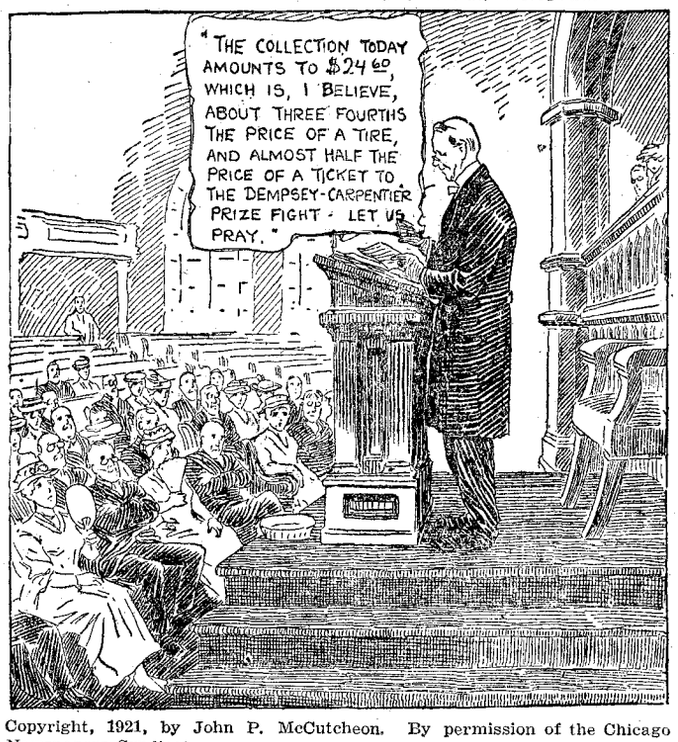
From S. S. Berry, Redlands, Cal.

Don Herold for the George Matthew Adams Service

SLOT
CROSS SECTION
HAT CHECKED, SIR?
NO, THANKS, SISTER. I'LL HOLD IT IN MY LAP WHILE I EAT, AND PUT THE DIME IN THE HAT. I SAVED $49 IN THIS HAT LAST YEAR

THE HAT-CHECK-TIP BANK—THE ONLY TROUBLE IS IT GETS A LITTLE HEAVY TOWARDS THE END OF THE FISCAL YEAR

McCutcheon in the Clarksburg (W. Va.) Telegram


"THE COLLECTION TODAY AMOUNTS TO $24.60, WHICH IS, I BELIEVE, ABOUT THREE FOURTHS THE PRICE OF A TIRE, AND ALMOST HALF THE PRICE OF A TICKET TO THE DEMPSEY-CARPENTIER PRIZE FIGHT - LET US PRAY."

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A STUDY IN RELATIVITY

From Nettie H. Cooper, Clarksburg, W. Va.

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he will be performing his duties quite as effectively as he will when he hales violators of the law to court. And so far as he succeeds in his declared purpose he will fortify all law, which in a self-governing country is but the will of the whole people.

THE NEW SOLICITOR-GENERAL

Of all books published in America about the war few, if any, had greater influence in convincing the people of this country of the justness of the Allies' cause and the criminality of Germany than that entitled "The Evidence in the Case." It presented the evidence against Germany with the skill of an attorney learned in the law and experienced in facing jurors, and with the persuasiveness of one who believes profoundly in the truth of what he advocates. It is a book which stands unrefuted and remains valuable as an expression of what the most intelligent and ultimately most influential Americans believed months before America took her place at the front. The author of this book, James M. Beck, has now been appointed Solicitor-General of the United States. By virtue of his office he will appear as the attorney of the Federal Government before the Supreme Court. He is sixty years old, a Philadelphian by birth, and a graduate of the Moravian College at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. Admitted to the Pennsylvania bar, he became some years later United States attorney for the Eastern District of that State, and in 1900 Assistant Attorney-General of the United States. In recent years he has been practicing law in New York City.

(C) Underwood

DR. LIVINGSTON FARRAND, RECENTLY CHOSEN PRESIDENT OF CORNELL UNIVERSITY

(C) Clinedinst

JAMES M. BECK, SOLICITOR-GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES

PERSONALITY COUNTS

Cornell's choice of Dr. Livingston Farrand for President, like Yale's choice of Dr. Angell, is an indication that personal forcefulness, executive experience, and modern educative ideals are more and more indispensable to educational leadership. Like Yale, Cornell chose a graduate of another college—in this case, Princeton. Dr. Farrand has had teaching experience at Columbia University and the University of Colorado, and has specialized in psychology and in research and exploration in the field of anthropology. At one time he was at the head of the University of Colorado. But his most valuable training in managing men, applying system, and co-ordinating energy has been in non-academic service. Thus in 1917 he took charge in France of the International Health Board's campaign against tuberculosis, and later became Chairman of the Central Committee of the American Red Cross, a position entailing large responsibility and the constant exercise of judgment in dealing with men and things. Cornell is a vast and complex institution. It will find its spirit and energy well directed under its new President.

Equal approval has been given by educators to the choice of Dr. Frank P. Graves as Commissioner of Education for the State of New York by the Regents of the University of the State, which, as most of our readers know, is a governing and not a teaching institution. Dr. Graves was selected from among a large number of men who have been under consideration since Dr. Finley's resignation. He has taught or acted as dean or president in several colleges, has written books and many articles on educational topics, and has lately been editor of the "Educational Review." A noteworthy incident in his career was his resignation of one college presidency (Wyoming University) in order to study for a doctorate in education. He comes to New York from the University of Pennsylvania, where he has been dean of its School of Education. If ever a man was a specialist in the science of education, surely Dr. Graves is.

IN COMMAND OF THE PACIFIC FLEET

Six years ago, when the then Captain Eberle was appointed Superintendent of the Naval Academy at Annapolis, The Outlook remarked: "He is a naval officer of high professional attainment, especially distinguished as an ordnance expert, and, like so many others in the service, possesses a very valid claim to the title of statesman. Naval officers not only must perfect themselves in the technical duties of an exacting profession, but they must possess the ability to embody in their own person the law, the tradition, and the dignity of the country which they represent."

Now Rear-Admiral Eberle has been assigned by the President as Commander-in-Chief of the Pacific Fleet, with the title of Admiral. In view of existing circumstances, Admiral Eberle's assignment is one which will bring out his essential qualities. As when Admiral Sperry was in command of the fleet which went round the world during

International

DR. FRANK P. GRAVES, RECENTLY CHOSEN COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION AND PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK

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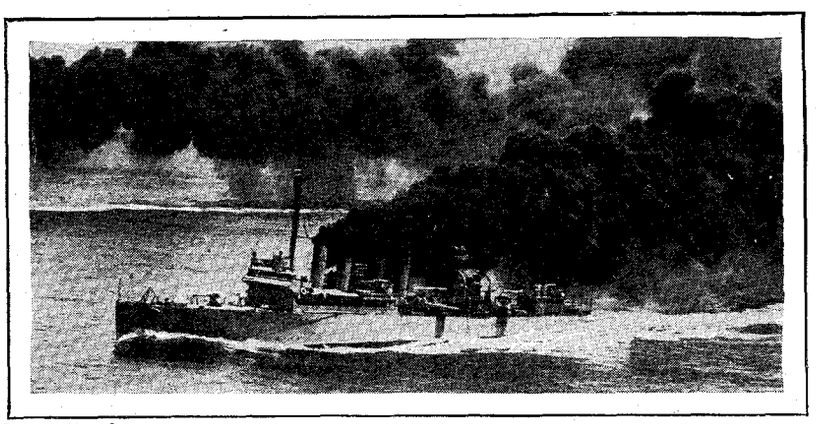


International

PACIFIC FLEET DREADNOUGHTS ATTACKED BY DESTROYERS IN SHAM BATTLE
The photograph shows one of the speeding destroyers laying down a smoke screen

the Roosevelt Administration, the country is fortunate now that the Pacific Fleet has at its head a man equally eminent as a naval administrator and as a statesman.

The Atlantic and Pacific Fleets, if united, would make an especially impressive exhibition of American force in the Pacific Ocean. This union, it has been said, should not take place, because Japan might interpret it as a challenge to her. It may be questioned if such a quiet exhibition of America might not in the end be productive of peaceful rather than warlike relations, as was the case of the visit of our fleet to Japan on its way round the world some years ago.

A DECLARATION OF DOMINION RIGHTS

In his opening address at the Imperial Conference Mr. Lloyd George proclaimed the full national status of the British Dominions. He recognized them as taking their places in the councils of the Empire on a footing of absolute equality with the mother country.

As this implies for the Dominions an adequate voice in the foreign affairs of the Empire, Arthur Meighen, Premier of Canada, later laid down four cardinal principles. These, he asserted, were essential to the Dominions' heightened status. The four points, as reported, are as follows:

(1) On all questions of foreign policy the Dominions should be kept thoroughly and constantly informed.

(2) On all questions of foreign policy affecting the Empire as a whole the Dominion Governments must be consulted.

(3) The British Government should enter into no treaties or alliances without taking the advice of the Dominions; indeed, all such treaties should be subject to the approval of the Dominion Parliaments.

(4) On all questions arising between the United States and Canada the Canadian Government's advice must be accepted as final.

This declaration of Dominion rights may take its place as a turning-point in the history of the relations between the British colonies and the mother country.

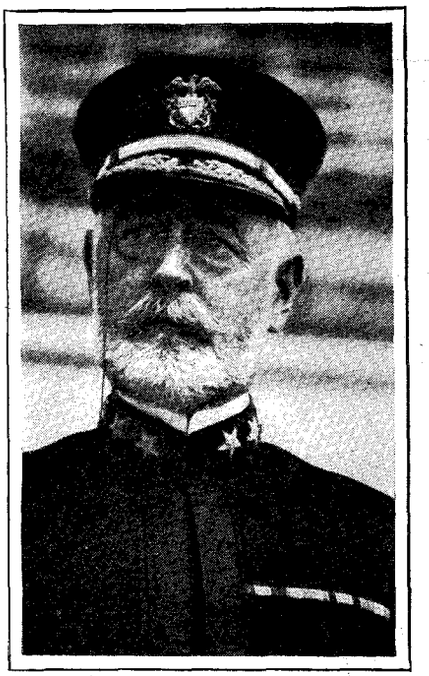
The essential elasticity and yet unity of the British Empire with regard to its Dominions has just been strikingly shown in the case of the proposal to give to Ireland a Dominion form of Government. One of the most eminent of the Dominion Prime Ministers, General Smuts, of South Africa (who some two decades ago was fighting on the Boer side against Britain), has visited Ireland on behalf of Imperial union, and his efforts have brought about good results.

THE ITALIAN IVANHOE

One of Scott's novels may have a revival if the new Italian Prime Minister becomes an important figure. It happens that his first name was taken from Sir Walter Scott's hero, Ivanhoe. It would be interesting to make a list of literary revivals that have had no more literary causes.

The new Ivanhoe spells his name of course in Italian fashion. Ivanoë Bonomi is well known in Italy as a public man, for he has held two important offices in the Cabinet. He has been Minister of the Treasury under Giolitti, and before that Minister of War. It is Giolitti himself that he succeeds.

To most Americans who have been stirred by Germany's aggression in the war Giolitti's name will always have an evil sound, for during those early critical months Giolitti was pro-German. It was not until the war was well over that Giolitti came back into power. He has always been a shrewd politician, and, it must be acknowledged, has during his term as Prime Minister again proved his shrewdness. He has had to steer a difficult course between the radicals, who are some of them Bolshevists, and the Fascisti, who have been advocates of restoring law and order through violence. He has been subject to attack also on his foreign policy, for his opponents have held it up against him that the easternmost harbor of Fiume was awarded to the Jugoslavs. Giolitti



International

ADMIRAL EDWARD EBERLE, IN COMMAND OF THE PACIFIC FLEET

did not wait for an adverse majority in Parliament before resigning; he resigned while the majority was still with him. It was, however, a majority of only thirty-four, and the old politician chose to assume that with so small a majority his Cabinet could hardly be sure of the country's confidence.

His successor, Bonomi, may not be in office long. Most observers of Italian politics are likely to think that Giolitti has gone out only to come back. It may be, however, that Bonomi will not be content to be Giolitti's stepping-stone. He has gathered about him a good Cabinet. For the time being he has won the support of the Socialists in spite of the fact that he is a reformed Socialist himself. He has also the support of many Fascisti. In addition he has the support of the Catholic party. He gets his main strength, however, from the Liberals. He will be opposed by extremists from various parties. By profession he is a journalist and has written on Socialism. In aspect he is austere and in manner taciturn, but in action he knows how to gain his ends by gentleness.

THE SIXTH DANTE CENTENNIAL

Although the six hundredth anniversary of Dante's death does not occur until next September, the celebrations of it have already begun. One of these celebrations took place recently in that unique structure composed of antiques, George Grey Barnard's Cloisters on Washington Heights, New York City. On that occasion the Shakespearean actor Fritz Leiber took the part of Dante and Mrs. Marsh Allen took the part of Beatrice in a pageant. The cele-

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bration at Ravenna, where the poet died, will mark the culmination of all the Italian commemorations. The austerity of that ancient city will form a fit setting for acts of homage to one who was great in adversity. The Dante celebrations are not only impressive in themselves, honoring one of the greatest poets of all time, but are also incidental expressions in Italy of a national New Life.

That is the underlying fact marking these celebrations. A new sense of youth, freedom, expansion, is rejuvenating Italy. *Fascismo*, aggressive nationalism as opposed to communism, is only one aspect of it, and, strange as this may seem, may turn out to be the least significant aspect. Throughout Italy the people have been stirred to a finer love of country. With some Italians, indeed, it is becoming a consciousness of the inherent great powers of the Italic race and a will to use them towards a new Renaissance of a now United Italy.

This New Life is comparable to that new life of Dante's own Gothic age. In it man's mind and soul and will also made a great leap, founded on a great emotion and determination. For it was the age of Marco Polo as well as of Joan of Arc and St. Louis; the age of the greater reconciliation between Greek philosophy and Middle Age Christianity as well as the epoch when the cathedral builders did their unrivaled work; the age of beginnings of popular parliamentary rule as opposed to the despotism of kings; and it was the age of the craft guilds and of the urban civilization as well as the age of chivalry, of the Crusades, and of the rise of the universities.

In all Italian history there has been this ever-recurring new note of youth, freedom, and expansion.

THE AALAND ISLANDS AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

THE Council of the League of Nations has awarded the Aaland Islands, in the Baltic Sea, to Finland. This may mean a settlement which can be regarded by friends of the League as significant of the usefulness which the future may hold in store for that organization.

The case of the Aaland Islands was first presented to the League by Great Britain, a disinterested party to the controversy between Finland and Sweden. This action was taken under the general provision of the Covenant that any case involving world peace is a matter of concern to the members of the League.

All states in the League were notified as to the facts, and the Council was summoned to meet last July in special session at London. Sweden, though not a member of the Council, automatically became a member for this particular case. Similarly, Finland, though not then a member of the League, was also permitted under the provisions of the Covenant to become a temporary member of the Council.

(C) Keystone

HEAD OF DANTE, SCULPTURED BY ONORIO RUOTOLO, THE ITALIAN-AMERICAN SCULPTOR

International

A SCENE IN THE DANTE PAGEANT AT MR. BARNARD'S CLOISTERS: FRITZ LEIBER AS DANTE AND MRS. MARSH ALLEN AS BEATRICE

Both nations and also representatives of the islands themselves made a full presentation of their case, and Sweden and Finland pledged themselves to take no action which might jeopardize the preservation of peace.

Finland first claimed that the case was purely of domestic interest, but a commission appointed by the League denied this claim. Thereupon the Council appointed a commission to report on the status of the islands, consisting of one American, one Swiss, and one Belgian. The American representative was Mr. Abram Elkus, formerly our Ambassador at Constantinople.

The Commission recommended, after a careful study of the situation, that the islands should go to Finland, of which they were a geographical appendage. This decision was reached even though the islanders themselves, practically Swedish in culture and sympathy, have on several occasions expressed the desire to link themselves with the Kingdom across the strait. The Commission argued that the principle of self-determination should not apply in this case, because the Swedish population of the islands is but a small part of the Swedish population of Finland as a whole, and that the Swedes in Finland would be adversely influenced by the separation of the islands from that country. The Council, in confirming the finding of this report, also decided that certain guaranties for the protection of the interests of the islanders should be given by Finland. Premier Branting, of Sweden, has protested the decision of the Council, but has agreed to recognize it.

NEWFOUNDLAND FISH

THE one great industry of Newfoundland has been paralyzed. The calamity of having too much fish is very serious to a small country like Newfoundland. Fishing is its main industry. Mining and pulp and other industries are very secondary. The markets of Newfoundland abroad have been largely closed to the Newfoundlanders because, through poverty and adverse exchange, the foreigners have been unable to buy the usual quantity of pre-war supplies. Moreover, salt, twine, and canvas (all of which Newfoundland imports) are still so high as to make it impossible for the people to live and send fish across the sea at pre-war rates.

A further peril now menaces the Newfoundlanders. The old-time tariff, which kept cod, herring, and oil out of their natural market in the United States may be reimposed. And yet America needs an increase of New-

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foundland produce, for at this time, including canned fish, three out of every four fish that Bostonians eat and five out of every six that New Yorkers eat come from the Pacific Ocean.

The United States need not fear competition from so small a people as the Newfoundlanders, who are our kinsmen as well as our neighbors. In a letter to The Outlook, Dr. Wilfred Grenfell, who has long lived among them, speaks thus of them:

> Here in America we have preserved to a great extent the heritage of our simple, God-fearing forebears who, with the spirit of the Norsemen and the Viking strain in their blood, crossed the Atlantic. We realize that in sea power lies the safety that now gives us that responsible pre-eminence which it has so long preserved for the Anglo-Saxon. . . . In 1914 we were glad of these northern hardy seamen, who from many coves and hamlets sprang to the aid of a world whose high ideals were threatened. Admirals and generals have testified as to the vital part the fishermen played in making possible the transport of troops and materials by literally sweeping the seas in the dangerous and unromantic tasks for which we landsmen were unfitted. We may need these men again if ever war clouds break upon us. . . .
>
> The Newfoundlanders share our ideals, joys and sorrows, our hopes and fears. They have earned the right to special consideration from America in the field of honor both in war and peace time.

Dr. Grenfell has earned the right to be heard. He is one of those rare combinations—a practical idealist. He is speaking on behalf of American food consumers as well as Newfoundland fishermen. An American tariff that would force the abandonment of a rich sea harvest would injure both.

HOPES FOR PEACE IN IRELAND

AS the Irish peace conference begins its sessions in London there are in all quarters fervid expressions of desire for a reasonable settlement of the vexed questions involved. There is also a notable feeling of hope and almost confidence that pacification may be gained, lawlessness and guerrilla warfare ended, and a working plan for the future reached.

One thing that makes for peace is the desperate condition the struggle has reached. When affairs are at their worst, it is human nature to insist that something must and shall be done to remedy them. There are many hundreds of thousands of people in Ireland who are now more anxious to see murder and destruction cease, authority of some kind recognized, and prosperity attainable than to insist upon this or that solution of the problem.

This is one reason why the British Government through its Prime Minister has shown willingness to open the doors wide for conciliation, without insisting that its dignity made it impossible to deal with confessed revolutionists and men who have aided or prompted disorder. Mr. Lloyd George lays more stress on results than upon authority; but it is better sometimes to be inconsistent than to be inefficient. It must be hard both for the English Prime Minister and the Ulster Premier, Sir James Craig, to meet in peaceable council with the so-called President of the invisible Irish Republic, and with Mr. De Valera's colleagues released from imprisonment for disloyalty, and in at least one case, that of Austin Stack, arrested for activity in connection with Sir Roger Casement's plot to aid Germany against England. But bitterness and prejudice are evidently to have no part in the present conference.

The present hope for a settlement of the Irish question seems to hinge upon some phase of Dominion government. It is almost certain that the Sinn Fein leaders are willing to abandon their attitude of "Irish independence or nothing," which led them to refuse to take any part in the former Irish peace conference and was really the rock on which that attempt to bring peace and stability was wrecked. If they should still insist upon an Irish Republic to be as independent as France is to-day, then the conference might as well cease its sessions at once.

The Dominion plan is capable of so many understandings and misunderstandings that it is safe to predict that the task of reconciling the desires of the two opposing sections of Irish will be long and difficult. The Ulster counties would prefer to remain just as they are now, with a Parliament and Home Rule system of their own, close relations with Great Britain as the Imperial Government, and just as little to do as possible with their southern neighbors. This attitude, however, is as unwelcome to the south of Ireland as the "one Irish Republic" idea is to Ulster.

If forecasts from those near the Sinn Fein leaders are correct, it seems probable that what they may be willing to agree to would be separate parliaments for the north and south of Ireland dealing with local matters, as the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec do in Canada, but with an all-Ireland Parliament which would deal with matters relating to Ireland as a whole, just as does the Canadian Dominion Parliament. This is not attractive to the mind of Ulster; its people believe that in any such supergovernment over them their needs and interests would go to the wall because South Ireland would have overwhelming authority if the basis is to be that of population. So the real question may turn out to be whether such a dual or triple form of Dominion government can be conceived as would fully safeguard the smaller section and yet be acceptable to the larger section.

The basic difficulty is the fierce animosity between the two sections—the smaller, Protestant, industrial, loyal, practical, and attached to the idea of close connection with Great Britain; the

(*Marcus in the New York "Times"*)

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larger, Catholic, agricultural, patriotic, imaginative, and intensely eager for Irish independence or the closest thing possible to it. Probably Ulster would welcome such a relation to Great Britain and to the rest of Ireland as Newfoundland and Labrador bear to Canada and England; that is, absolute independence in local matters and full recognition of Imperial supremacy. But this would never be agreed to by the Sinn Fein leaders, and it might prove in itself an unsatisfactory adjustment.

The consent of Mr. De Valera to attend the conference with his colleagues has been generally hailed as evidence that he is no longer an irreconcilable. Some of those Irish revolutionists who have been unreasonable to the very limit and who scout any mention of concession or compromise are now denouncing De Valera as a renegade. It remains to be seen whether the Sinn Fein leaders are really working for peace or whether they intend to insist upon such complete yielding to their demands that for a second time the attempt to find out what Ireland really wants and what the Irish people as a nation are willing to undertake shall prove futile.

The grave importance of the conference now in session can hardly be exaggerated. If its members shall act as leaders of opinion and earnestly unite their efforts to dispel the hateful state of bloodshed and civil war that has existed in Ireland so long, then indeed we may see the dawn of peace and law and order in Ireland. If not, the British Government has apparently no alternative except to establish authority by force, but with the utmost care that the methods of its representatives in Ireland shall be free from the slightest tinge of lawlessness or cruelty.

THE BONUS AND THE VETERAN

CONGRESS has been under severe pressure to pass a bonus law providing what has been called "an adjusted compensation" for veterans of the World War. This pressure has been the result in part of Congressional desire to placate a large body of voters and in part from the very human desire of our Congressmen—Congressmen are human, you know—to do everything which they could for the men who bore the chief burden of the war.

The Outlook has never classed the demand for the bonus as an indefensible attempt to raid the National Treasury. It has not considered the demand for the bonus as an attempt of the ex-service men to put a cash value upon their contribution to the war. The demand for the bonus has seemed to us a very natural expression of the disappointment and disillusionment which the ex-service man felt when he returned to his home and found how inadequate the sacrifice of the civilian population had been in comparison to his own. The soldiers, sailors, and marines who went into the war never thought for an instant of asking questions concerning the financial rewards which they would receive. While the war was on, the fact of being able to serve was in itself the chief recompense which the service men could receive.

The first and most cogent reason against granting a bonus to all service men at this time lies in the fact that there is a particular class of service men who have a prior claim upon the attention of the country. The service men themselves are the first to demand that the Government bend its every effort to giving adequate care to the wounded, disabled, and incapacitated veterans. The status of the disabled veterans has left no doubt that the Government has been remiss in the payment of its debt to those broken in health and mind by the war. The question of a general bonus should be at least put off until the disabled have been cared for.

> WHAT does the Nation owe to the veteran of the World War? Next week we shall print articles on the bonus and the rehabilitation of the disabled.

A statement by Secretary Mellon makes clear another reason why the present is no fit occasion for the granting of a general bonus.

The payment of the huge sum of money required, running, it is estimated, into the billions, would, it is believed, wipe out the advantages which are expected to accrue to the whole Nation from the reduction of Governmental expenses by the planned economies of the present Administration. The payment of this sum to our ex-service men would probably serve to upset business to such an extent that any cash which the ex-service man might receive would be offset by the portion of the general loss which he would be called upon to meet. The third reason against the granting of a bonus lies in the fact that, save for those who have suffered in body or mind, the ex-service men have very largely re-established themselves in the civil life of the Nation. A bonus granted at the time of their discharge from the Army or Navy would have been a real help. The money given upon discharge was less than enough to provide the veterans with a civilian outfit of clothing. The time for adjusting that inadequate payment is past. An attempt to correct it now would, it seems, probably do the great body of our veterans more harm than good—enough indirect harm to offset the direct good.

There is another method which friends of the veteran are urging, at least in New York State, for his partial relief, and this is a method which is much less defensible than the plea for a Federal bonus. In New York State there is an agitation on foot, that, we are sorry to say, is backed by many veterans' organizations, to secure the passage of a Veterans' Preference Constitutional Amendment in the election this coming fall. This Constitutional amendment provides that soldiers, sailors, and marines who are citizens and residents of New York State shall be entitled to preference in appointment and promotion without regard to their standing on any list from which such appointments or promotions may be made. The adoption of this amendment would destroy all the progress which has been made in the direction of establishing an efficient Civil Service in New York State. It is to the real interest of a veteran, as of every other citizen, that the Government of the State shall be in the highest possible degree efficient. The jobs which individual veterans may secure under such a law will be an inadequate return for the consequent lowering of the standards of appointment throughout the State. The destruction of the Civil Service is bad coin in which to pay any debt. That the proposed amendment is not without precedent constitutes no argument in its favor.

AN INTELLECTUAL SHORTHAND

RECENTLY the Young-Old Philosopher has been traveling. We have heard from him only through an occasional message on a postcard, after the manner of tourists; but now he is home again, and to-day he called upon us.

"I was struck, all along my journey," he began, "by the fact that, while almost every person I saw did a good deal of reading, few read books. It was mostly newspapers and magazines I observed; and heads were buried in them. Only occasionally would I see a man or

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woman engrossed in a volume. When I did, and, through an old habit of mine, refused to pass until I had got the title of the book, I was struck by the lightness of the story. People nowadays seem to prefer an evanescent fiction to solid biography and history. It may be a reaction of the war—surely, it can be explained in some way. Or it may be due to the inroads of the movies, which make little or no demands upon the intellect, and owe their tremendous and appalling popularity to that very fact. Give people something that amuses them, and does not make them think deeply, and you have won them, inevitably, to your cause. The success of the baby's rattle is based on a complete understanding of the infant mind; and the picture houses, with their perpetual grinding out of nothing at all, are packed by audiences who are seeking an escape from all but the most primitive emotions. They are not necessarily dull people; but mostly they are people without imagination. The movies rather glorify life for them, and the onlookers are released from opaque and drab surroundings through the magic of animated pictures that tell some sort of tale, no matter how trivial.

"We read and write nowadays a sort of shorthand. We are too busy, most of us, for the delicate and beautiful things of life. We are anxious to reach any intellectual destination, as any physical destination, at the highest possible speed; and we take short cuts whenever we can. The swiftness of modern life has swept us all on in a sort of blind frenzy, until leisure is now only a word and a moment's idleness an undreamed-of event. We forget those little side-trails off the main highway that are perhaps more crowded with glamour and delight; and we lose, through our vain wish for momentary money-making, the very essence and sweetness of the rushing days. We spend what leisure we accidentally have in a dark cavern looking at a picture which has little relation to life as it is, forgetting the books on our shelves which came out of the hearts and souls of men and women who studied humanity and crystallized it enduringly on paper.

"There is a curious delusion that the classics are dull. They contain, as a matter of fact, more movement and genuine thrills than the most lurid movie. But the thrills are an integral part of any legend of ancient Greece or Rome, or even of latter-day London and Paris; and there they lie in our libraries for all to get acquainted with who will. Is the coming generation to miss the rich opportunities which you and I enjoyed? Are the glorious stories of Ulysses and the Iliad and Penelope and Nero and Alexander the Great and a thousand others to be lost in the clash and roar of these demon days? Are they to be superseded by the tale of 'Somebody's Terrible Vengeance' or 'Anybody's Amazing Murder'?

"I think things will readjust themselves. I am not one to deplore every new movement, every fresh enterprise, that comes along. Instead, I look for the good in each young development, and pray that that, and that alone, will last, and the evil accompanying it may perish to make way for other crusaders."

NOT WHAT BUT WHOM

Dear Dr. Abbott:

I am deeply impressed with the thought that out of the fullness of your experience and faith you could (and should) prepare a formula of belief for the *incurably religious*, for whom the Apostles' Creed has become meaningless, to say the least.

Something as concise as the Ten Commandments, or the Lord's Prayer, which could be the outspeaking of the human heart and bind men (*i. e.*, believers) in a brotherhood hitherto unattained. A. A. T.

EDITORIAL reports in The Outlook have informed our readers that recent attempts have been made in two Protestant denominations to frame some brief formulas of faith, though these efforts were apparently inspired by a desire not to provide some new formula expressive of the results of modern thinking, but to restate in new formulas old opinions to check the propagation of new opinions. In this respect they differed widely from the proposal of my correspondent; in two respects they differed from each other. In the Presbyterian Assembly the proposal for a new creed was allowed to die in committee; in the Baptist National Convention the proposed creed, apparently a compromise between two wings, was carried by a large majority. The Presbyterian Assembly is a legislative body, and any creed adopted by that body would have had something of the moral force of law and might in time, by proper constitutional methods, become a law; if the Baptists still retain, as we presume they do, their historic spirit of independence, any creed which the National Convention adopts has no force, moral or ecclesiastical, on the Baptists. It is simply an expression of the opinion of those who voted for it.

There is, however, in all three proposals one common element: all express a common but, in my judgment, a mistaken opinion that uniformity of belief and teaching is desirable. I think that uniformity of belief and of teaching is very undesirable. What humanity needs, what is necessary to human progress and real intellectual spiritual life, is not uniformity, but liberty and variety. The unity must be, to use the words of my correspondent, "the outspeaking of the human heart;" it must be a unity of emotion and purpose, not a unity of intellectual opinion; it must be found in the prayers and hymns of the Church, not in the sermons of the ministers nor in creeds ancient or modern.

If there had been uniformity of belief in pure science, we should still believe that the world is flat and that the sun revolves around it and we should still be studying stars in order to discover the destiny of man. When astronomy was born astrology died.

If there had been uniformity of belief in applied science, we should have no steamboats, no railways, no telegraphs, no telephones, no airplanes. Each of these inventions has had to make its way by the enthusiasm of its advocates in spite of hostile criticism and often of bitter opposition.

If there had been uniformity of belief and of teaching in medicine, we should not believe in the circulation of the blood; nor in the germ theory of disease; nor in the use of anæsthetics; and we should still be subject to annual visitations of cholera and yellow fever.

If there had been uniformity of belief in religion, there would never have been Wesleyanism; nor Puritanism; nor Protestantism; nor even Christianity. Nero believed in uniformity of teaching. Paul, Peter, James, and John believed in liberty and variety of teaching. Their motto was, "Prove all things, hold fast that which is good." The only way to prove all things is to subject everything to free and fearless discussion.

Dogmatism and agnosticism are of kin. The one declares that we can know nothing about the invisible world beyond what the Church tells us; the other, that we can know nothing about the invisible world. In fact, the invisible world is an infinite and unknown continent. The more there are to explore it and bring back the results of their explorations, the more rapid will be the progress in the higher life of the human race. The unity of the Christian Church must be secured by loyalty to a Person, not by loyalty to what others have thought about that Person.

This is well said by John Oxenham in his volume of verse entitled "Bees in Amber," published by the American Tract Society:

Not what, but Whom, I do believe,
That, in my darkest hour of need,
Hath comfort that no mortal creed
To mortal man may give;—
Not what, but Whom!
For Christ is more than all the creeds,
And His full life of gentle deeds
Shall all the creeds outlive.

LYMAN ABBOTT.

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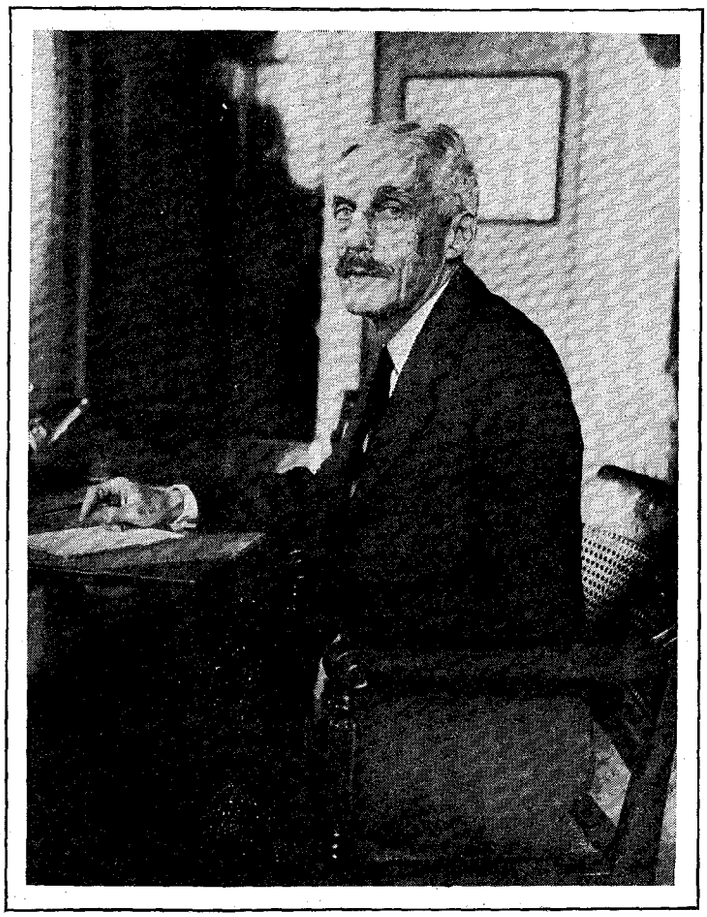
MR. MELLON

A STUDY OF THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

BY RICHARD BARRY



(C) Keystone

ANDREW W. MELLON, SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

WHICH is the biggest job in the Cabinet, that of the Secretary of State or of the Treasury? Tradition and the Constitution accord it to the Secretary of State, but it would be easy to make out a good case for the Treasury.

Especially now. Without going too much into details, which would fill a large volume, here are a few of his duties: To find five billions a year with which to run the Government, to handle a public debt of twenty billions, to look after ten billions of foreign loans on which there is due half a billion interest with no pay in sight, to enforce the Prohibition Act, collect the income tax, administer the War Risk Insurance, oversee the Secret Service, and look after half the Federal buildings in the United States.

Quite a job. One would say, offhand, it required a business man. Yet Mr. Harding is the first President who has ever conceived and put into execution the novel idea of having a business man in it.

Finding a Secretary of the Treasury ought to be a simple matter. The President ought to have to ask only one question—Who is the most successful financier in America? Then he should be commandeered. But it has never been done that way. Even now, having a practical financier in the Treasury is only an accident—a sort of happy chance.

One might think that Mr. Harding said to himself: "Because I have promised to make mine a sound business Administration I'll ask the most successful financier in America to take the Treasury. Who is he? John D. Rockefeller of course, but Mr. Rockefeller is too old. Who next? Mr. Morgan or Mr. Baker. Well, Mr. Baker is also very old, and Mr. Morgan is too thoroughly identified with Wall Street both actually and in public consciousness to establish the proper confidence, for confidence is about half the battle, and capable administration the other half. Who, then? I'll ask the boys who is the next best financier. Ah, Mr. Andrew W. Mellon, of Pittsburgh. Never heard of him. But he is the third or fourth richest man in America, is self-made, is independent of Wall Street—and a wizard, a genius in finance. I'll appoint him."

But it didn't happen that way, or at least only partially that way. If Mr. Knox had been made Secretary of State, as it was one time thought he would be, Mr. Mellon would not have been Secretary of the Treasury, for both come from Pennsylvania. The old Keystone State, being the richest jewel in the Republican diadem, always rates at least one member in a Republican Cabinet—but no more than one.

So Providence seems to have been looking after the United States when the President asked a man from New York, Mr. Hughes, to be Secretary of State, thus displacing the obvious Cabinet possibility from Pennsylvania, Mr. Knox, and making the inevitable place for a simon-pure business man, a practically successful financier of the first grade, Mr. Mellon.

Do I anticipate events and the verdict of time in asserting that Mr. Mellon is the proper Secretary of the Treasury? Not entirely. The point is that he is the *kind* of man for the job, and nearly everybody in Washington knows it.

A little incident of a recent Cabinet meeting will explain just why he is the right kind of man. The President brought up one of the many new problems that had been thrust at him for solution. It concerned the possible scrapping or further operation of one of the Government's war plants. The President asked one after another of the men about the table their opinion in the matter. The opinions were this and that, but *all* were theoretical. No one had positive data to go on until the question was passed to the shyest, quietest, most retiring of the group of twelve.

"And what is your opinion, Mr. Mellon?" asked the President.

"I haven't looked into it thoroughly yet," replied the new Secretary of the Treasury, with his accustomed modesty, "but I had a similar case recently in one of my own plants to deal with. The amount involved was the same—$12,000,000. I scrapped mine."

That was all. Except that for an instant a sort of shocked silence descended over the Board.

Certainly this is the kind of man we have not had in that job, but which we do need now. It should be said here that Mr. McAdoo was the kind of man we needed in war time as Secretary of the Treasury—a *beau sabreur* of finance, a dashing leader of unconquerable audacity, who, when Congress said it needed one billion, replied, "I'll get you five billion."

The opposite type is required for the present era of reconstruction, and Mr. Mellon looks like the proper person. I asked him not long ago if he had read Alexander Hamilton's notes on the founding of the Bank of the United States, or if he knew the history of the Treasury Department. He replied no to both questions. I then asked him what

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theories he held for the administration of his new office. He had none.

He approached Washington, as it were, with a blank mind. He hadn't a thing with which to grapple with the problems of the Treasury except an incomparable practical experience in big business and an uncanny financial instinct. He was extremely wary of politics and politicians. It was his first public office. Sixty-nine years old, his active constructive career practically finished, he had nothing to win and peace of mind as well as a good reputation to lose. The law had required him to resign the presidency of his banks and the directorates of corporations, so that his personal money loss per annum would run into six figures.

Yet his equipment was really unique for governmental office. You see it partially in his countenance. The profile, in bony structure, is not unlike that of C. J. Cæsar as depicted on Roman coins. The fleshy contour, however, is melting, the eyes are soft, and a drooping mustache conceals the firmness of the mouth, while his delicate nostrils and finely chiseled lips are as sensitive as those of a high-born woman. Thus is produced an impression not so much of dynamic as of static imperial force. You feel that here is a born ruler, but of an ancient line in which breeding has developed *finesse* with power.

Mr. Mellon himself is the last to admit that he is a practical business man. He permits himself as little credit as possible for the many startling successes which have risen under the ægis of the capital he has advanced. The mere names of these many enterprises have filled the column of a newspaper and extend through coke, coal, steel, banking, oil, real estate, and transportation to chemical research. Yet he always points to the other man—to the promoter, the executive, or the deft salesman—as the one entitled to the glory of the achievement.

Previous to the 4th of last March Mr. Mellon's position in the financial world was different from that of any other banker of the present day. He was the survival of an era of individualists. For many years he relied on his own judgment solely in arriving at decisions involving many millions. For twenty-five years his was a one-man bank, without a board of directors among whom to apportion responsibility.

Carnegie came to him for help as Frick had come to his father. Scores of lesser men did likewise. With none of them was it ever a case of consulting the directors. Mr. Mellon himself said yes or no, and it was usually said with great promptness.

Thus the self-effacing Pittsburgh man quietly built up a chain of successful businesses, challenging the United States Steel Company, on the one hand, and the Standard Oil Company, on the other, afraid of neither and respected by both.

It is the engineer of such a structure that Uncle Sam has called to superintend a more extended field at a moment when there is required a constructive genius with an exquisite instinct for values and a dauntless courage in confronting billions.

We have now only to observe if the right *kind* of a man can proceed unhampered in the biggest kind of a public job.

THE LIQUOR PROBLEM IN GREAT BRITAIN

BY P. W. WILSON

I HAVE here the figures—I am sorry to add, the disquieting figures—of the increased consumption of alcoholic liquors in the United Kingdom since the armistice, as collected from official sources by Mr. George B. Wilson, the leading statistician of the temperance parties in London. No friend of England, studying these figures, can be other than anxious for her social welfare, and no friend of the United States, estimating the success or failure of prohibition, should ignore comparisons with the British alternative.

In 1914—seven years ago—the drink bill for the United Kingdom was £164,500,000, or, at $5 to the pound sterling, $822,500,000. In 1920 that drink bill was £469,700,000, or nearly three times as great, amounting to $2,348,500,000. Approximately, a sum of £10 a head was spent on drink for every man, woman, and child in the country, or for the average family of five persons £50. Such a household thus pays £1 a week for drink, or, at a normal rate of exchange, nearly $5, which is more than the total average wage of the agricultural laborer in many English counties before the war. In certain areas even to-day the miners lately on strike were only offered £2 5*s*. a week, or $11.

In the main, this huge drink bill is paid by the poor. Out of £469,713,000, which is the total, only £30,318,000, or one-fifteenth, was spent on wine, the beverage of the rich; and of drink taxes amounting to £133,500,000, wine only furnished a revenue of £2,235,000, or one-sixtieth.

On the other hand, it is true that much of the drink bill goes to the state. The actual figures are:

Year	Drink Bill	Taxation	Net Drink Bill
1914	£164,500,000	£39,900,000	£124,600,000
1920	469,700,000	197,000,000 (includes excess profits tax)	272,700,000

It will thus be seen that, even after allowing for the excess profits tax, the net expenditure, accruing to the trade, has risen from £124,600,000 to £272,700,000, or has more than doubled. And even of the taxation, it must be said that practically the whole of this revenue is drawn from wages and small salaries.

I shall next be asked what actual consumption of alcohol this expenditure represents. First, take beer. The United Kingdom drank in recent years as follows:

	Barrels	Gallons Per Head
1914	34,130,000	26.66
1918	12,790,000	9.99
1920	26,917,000	20.61

These figures show that in the year 1918 Britain had reduced her consumption of beer from over 26 gallons per head to under 10 gallons. This result was achieved, not by shutting public-houses or saloons, but by stopping manufacture at the source. All the beer brewed was drunk, but there was only about one-third the brewing allowed. Since then there has been a "let up" on brewing, and in two years consumption has doubled. This is despite the fact that the war boom in trade had become in 1920 a slump, now so serious that more than ten per cent of wage-earners are to-day, apart from the strike, out of work. England is not so intemperate as she used to be when, a generation ago, 33 gallons of beer were drunk every year per head. But the present allowance of 20.61 gallons is serious. It means 103.05 gallons per household, or fully 2 gallons per week, in addition to wine and spirits as diluted.

I should here make it plain that these barrels are "standard"—that is, of a certain legal strength of alcohol—and the standard barrel is usually diluted before it reaches the consumer. This explains why, with a reduced "standard" barrelage, the brewers are receiving more money for themselves. They have sold weaker or lighter beers at a higher price per glass, and have so reaped a rare harvest. It may be well from one standpoint to have lighter beer, but from another standpoint it means that the trade has become more powerful financially and able to demand a higher price as compensation for disturbance. It is no longer a dying industry, but an industry resurrected, with large reserves, debentures paid off, and a handsome surplus for propaganda. Experience has shown that immensely increased taxation is no remedy for the drink evil and that restricted hours of sale in saloons may only mean brisker business while sale is permitted.

For spirits the figures are similar. Consumption fell from 31,790,000 gallons in 1914 to 15,110 gallons in 1918, but have since risen again to 22,147,000 gallons. As for wines, they have so fluctuated that whereas 10,630,000 gallons were drunk in 1914, no less than 15,159,000 gallons were drunk last year, an increase in the beverage of the rich of fifty per cent.

In order to illustrate the above

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figures, I will give the comparison in gallons per head between consumption of liquor in the United States for the year 1917, when this country was wet, and British consumption in 1920:

	Spirits	Beer	Wine
United States	1.16	14.9	.34
United Kingdom	.47	20.61	.32

It will thus be seen that before adopting prohibition the United States consumed per head as much wine as the United Kingdom, twice as much spirits, and two-thirds as much beer.

For the year 1919 the British expenditure on drink and food compared thus:

Drink	£8	8s.	0d.
Beef and mutton	4	4	8
Bread and flour	3	11	8
Bacon	2	3	5
Butter and margarine	1	17	0
Sugar	1	1	8
Tea	—	19	7

It is surely a startling fact that on alcoholic beverages there was spent more money than upon meat and bread. Indeed, you could nearly throw the item of butter into the scale. And yet the drink bill for 1919 was only £8 8*s*., whereas in 1920 it had risen further to £10.

As to social effects, we have the plain tale of convictions for drunkenness. The following table is, once more, for the three years 1914, 1918, and 1919. It applies to England and Wales. We have:

	Convictions for Drunkenness		Consumption of Absolute Alcohol
	Men	Women	(Gallons)
1914	146,517	37,311	89,000,000
1918	21,853	7,222	37,000,000
1919	46,767	11,180	60,000,000

It will thus be seen that as the drink consumption fell, so did drunkenness among both men and women. As the consumption rose again, so again did the evils multiply which follow drink. It is a case of cause and effect, and when the criminal statistics for 1920 are available they will show, I am afraid, a further large increase in proved intemperance.

The truth about Britain is that she is a country where the liquor trade enjoys exceptional advantages. In the long battle between the Established Church and the Nonconformists liquor supported the Church, and so divided on this issue the religious forces of the nation. Similarly, liquor financed the Conservative party, on which Mr. Lloyd George—personally a prohibitionist—depends for power. Not only has he found it impossible to proceed with temperance legislation, but he has been compelled to release the trade from limitations imposed during the war. Six years ago Britain was at least one hundred thousand working-class dwellings in arrears, and she now needs double that number. From the old homes the people, with war money in their pockets but their war morale almost exhausted, have flocked to theaters, picture palaces, and the public-house or saloon.

If there had been no war, the grip of the traffic would still have been severe. Possibly, the United States themselves would never have secured prohibition if the decision had been confined to Eastern States like New York and Rhode Island, which were among the last to remain wet. In England the home counties adjacent to London and much of Lancashire, Yorkshire, South Scotland, and the Midlands are continuously urban in character—the most difficult of battlefields against "the trade." Also, it is unfortunately the fact that among women in England there is not as yet the strong etiquette which kept American women out of the saloon. The woman's vote has not been mobilized as yet against the brewers; the excitement of victory over "the Hun," the memory of the slain, has prevented a clear vision on the matter.

Also, the full effect of prohibition in the United States has still to be realized in Britain. With all his sportsmanship, Pussyfoot Johnson is still in the invidious position of the good boy who wants the rest of the family to be as good as himself. Europeans visiting the United States usually spend most of their time in areas once scheduled as wet and in homes and hotels where money and hospitable intent do produce the pleasant cocktail for a thirsty guest. These visitors go away saying that anybody can get liquor at any time in the United States, which, in a sense, is true—*at a price*.

Newspapers, anxious for the unusual, tell of rum-running along the Canadian border, moonshining, bootlegging, and carpets spoiled by home-brewed froth. On every radiator cider is secretly fermenting. At Christmas, the mincemeat kicks. Watermelons are converted by plugs of yeast into ten per cent alcohol. One realizes why the apple in Eden was forbidden and warehouses full of spirits leak badly.

Assume that all this is as true as it is picturesque. The broad fact emerges that drink in the United States is doomed. On no public occasion can it be seen. The banquets are dry. Young people, even when given to dancing, grow up unconscious of alcohol. Following David Belasco, the theaters and movies find that prohibition helps the box office. Entertainment is now a vested interest against "booze." Great hotels and restaurants which depended on drink are disappearing, and this again weakens the wets. The cabarets and follies cannot alone fight the battle for the wets, and they are surrendering. And the Nation, while still drinking a good deal, is for this very reason drinking itself dry. There is none save home-brewed beer. There is little import of wine and spirits. And spirits in bond are disappearing.

The fears entertained in respect of prohibition are unrealized. Despite General Bramwell Booth's statement that the drug habit is growing, I can find no authoritative proof that this is the case. And if it had been the case, assuredly the evidence would have been there. Salutary sentences appear to have quashed any general danger of wood alcohol. Apparently, the cessation of beer and substitution of spirits, inevitable to the initial period of prohibition, have led to a more acute type of alcoholism arising among inebriates, but the total of drunkenness has dropped to a fraction of what it was. The returns of the luxury taxes show that prohibition has been accompanied by a great increase in funds available for life's minor comforts and adornments; and the returns of Ellis Island dispose of the notion that immigration is thereby retarded. No one can now assert that the wage-earners of Britain are more content with alcohol than the wage-earners of the United States are without it, and the bugbear of industrial unrest arising out of "the drought" has been laid forever.

It seems to me also, as a detached spectator, that politics in the United States is now far from being the somewhat dubious game which twenty years ago it was supposed to be by people living in England. The saloon has gone, and in its place we have the woman voter, eager, ready to learn, and intolerant of duplicity or graft. In so far as liquor assisted the electoral ambitions of certain hyphenates it tended to split up and depreciate American citizenship, and from this angle also its suppression is a good thing, tending, as it does, to a deeper unity in the Nation. On the other hand, so marked a difference of social custom between the United States and other nations of European origin must result in a certain isolation of sentiment. If the United States is right, then it follows that many others are wrong. And with science internationalized and tables of mortality and industrial output available for the whole world, it is obvious that the enforcement of prohibition in any one country must in the end compel its serious consideration everywhere else.

Prohibition is, however, a law only, not a gospel. It is Mosaic rather than Christian—Mosaic and of Islam. It is derived from Mount Sinai, and not from the Mount of Olives. It says, Thou shalt not; it does not say, Thou shalt. In itself, the advantage of prohibition is physical only—better health, more money, fewer temptations. There is much to be said for the British theory that true temperance means the control of self by self and not the control of self by others. In accepting prohibition a nation returns to a former dispensation, a childhood in which orders are obeyed and the will is relieved of exercise. The only reason why, in Britain, prohibition is to-day the one fighting policy must be sought in the folly of "the trade" itself. Not only do the brewers and publicans resist all real amendment of their business, but they have this year promoted legislation which is an insult to the moral sense of moderate men everywhere. One speech by Lady Astor killed this measure. By refusing all compromise and pushing their triumphs to the utmost lengths of indifference to the national well-being the brewers will force on Britain ultimately the choice between all or none, which the United States has recently decided in favor of none.

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BURDEN BEARERS OF EUROPE

BY W. C. GREGG

WITH PHOTOGRAPHS BY THE AUTHOR

A Frenchwoman with a ton load

THERE are bright and dark sides to a load on your back. If it is an outing—hurrah! If it is for daily bread—ah, that is different. Our soldier boys in the war learned to carry sixty pounds or so, under "full marching orders," but the Americans are strangers to the back load as a *business*. Its development comes with density of population. So China easily takes the lead in volume and variety of back burdens.

A Chinaman stopped to sell some vegetables, and I placed the slim stick on my shoulder and started to lift the two full baskets attached by a rope to either end. I could not raise them; yet he, no stronger than I, knew how and started off on a little trot.

Europe has always carried on—on the back; but the war has destroyed a portion of the animal supply, and more loads loom on the shoulders than ever before. This is especially true in the devastated regions of France, and the city of Vienna, where the Socialistic Government has destroyed the value of their currency, and many people

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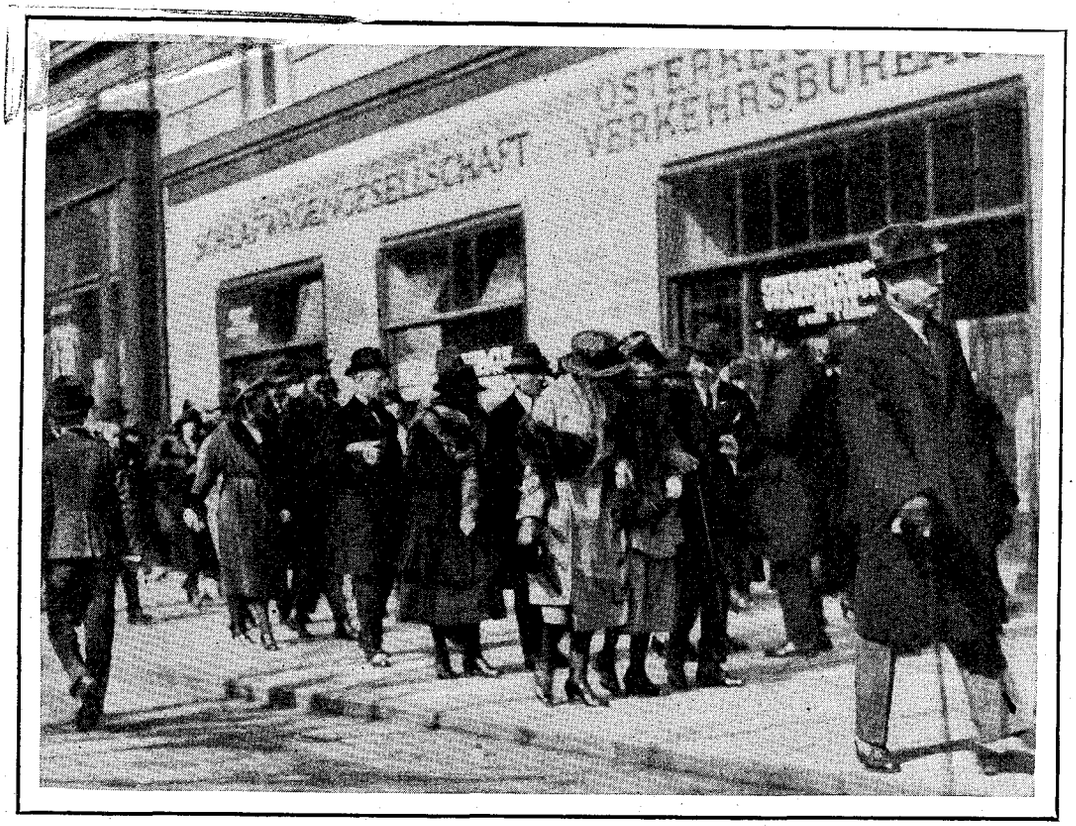
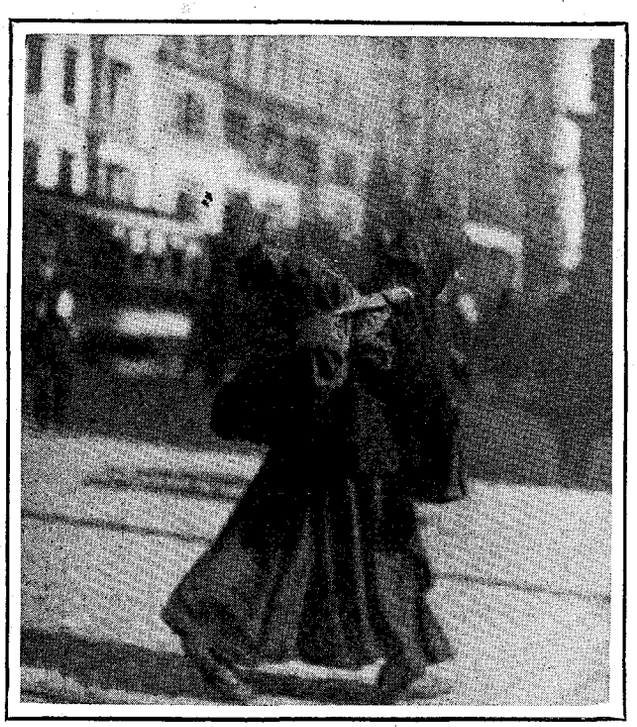


A recent view of one Vienna street. No burdens here



You can't see her face but look at her feet

A gift of money held him for a moment, but he was too tired to "look pleasant"

are flung back to primary struggles for existence.

I am showing some pictures taken in Vienna recently. One is a view of the prosperity street display on a sunny afternoon in the shopping district. On other streets not far away I took the other pictures.

The Frenchwoman drawing nearly a ton to market in Nice was not far from the fashionable

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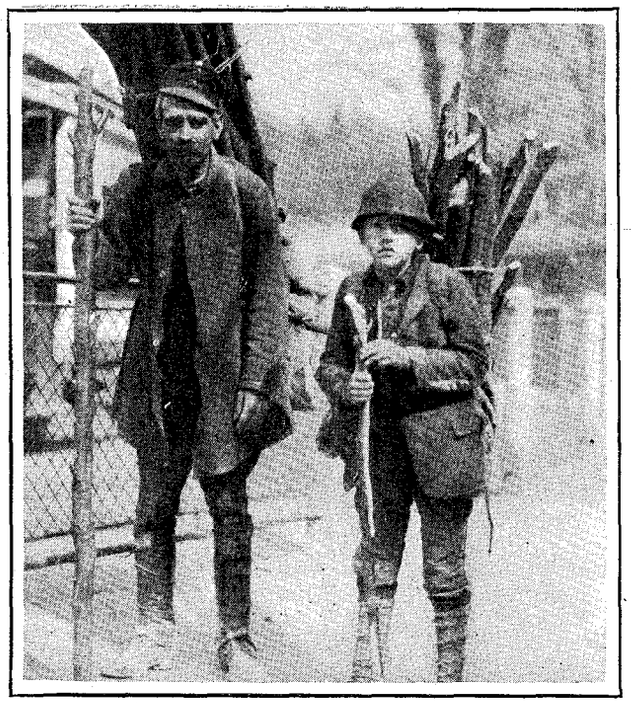
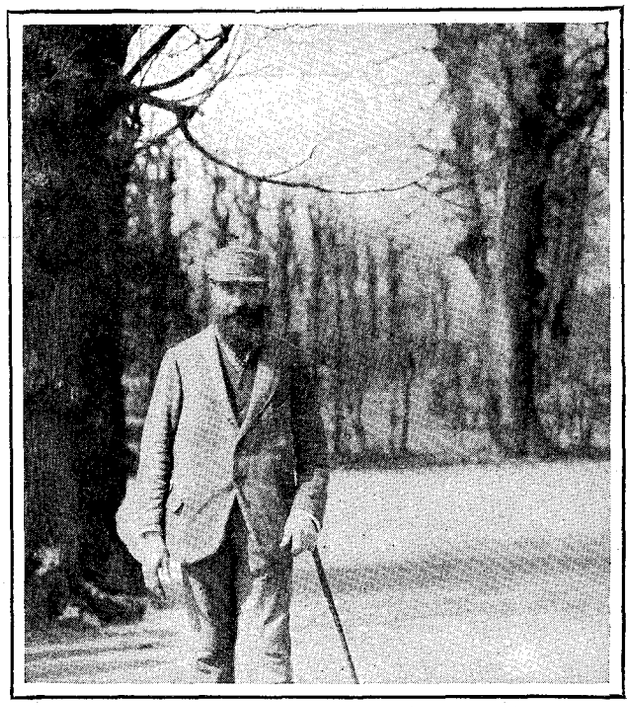


America has many "father and son" golf tournaments. This father and son are using wooden sticks in a different game



This man is a Vienna beggar and the only burden he has is a cane

Notice that the two boy onlookers also carry loads

"board walk" of that city, where can be seen a great silk-stocking international exhibit.

Wealth and poverty, work and play, industry and idleness, can be found by cameras everywhere.

But nowhere in all the earth is there such a large percentage of non-producers as in the United States.

Is it our glory or our shame?

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CENSORSHIP AT PARIS

BY WADE CHANCE

On January 15 [1919] Mr. Lloyd George complains of insinuations published in certain French newspapers. President Wilson goes even further, and although representing a country in which censorship had been abolished immediately following the armistice, asks that the French censorship should be exercised not only over the French newspapers but also over despatches sent to foreign papers. M. Clemenceau opposes a friendly refusal.—*From Tardieu's "The Truth About the Treaty."*

"I WHOLLY disapprove of what you say—and will defend your right to say it to the death," wrote Voltaire to Helvetius on the publication of the latter's famous book "On the Mind."

It is amazing to those few Americans who were present in Paris during the Peace Conference that so little of what was common knowledge there was not only not known in America, but has not been made known here even to this day.

Have the people of America realized, for instance, to what a great extent the censorship in practice in Paris, exercised mainly at the specific request of Mr. Wilson, was responsible for the failure of the Conference to agree upon a Treaty and a League of Nations plan compatible with both American and European Allied public opinion?

Yet the fact is that America was prevented from knowing the true light in which Europe regarded Mr. Wilson and his methods, and the French press was not permitted to inform the French people how America looked upon Mr. Wilson's foreign adventuring and programme.

Their "right to say it" was not only denied, but active repression was actually put in force by the one man who was most obligated to protect their right to hear and to say.

I sat at the desk of the distinguished French publicist "Pertinax," of the "Echo de Paris," when he showed me scores of cablegrams from his Washington correspondent, Mr. Judson Welliver, blue-penciled by the French censor, whole sentences often struck out, sometimes half or all of the message suppressed, including a speech of Senator Lodge in the Senate on the League of Nations, and a paragraph of one of Mr. Wickersham's Paris messages to the New York "Tribune," cabled back for reproduction in Paris.

Pertinax said:

"About a month before the Peace Conference opened a strongly worded note was received by the French Government from the State Department at Washington, requesting them to give instructions that cablegrams sent over to America by American correspondents in Paris should not be submitted to any kind of censorship. This request was gladly granted, and for a time the American correspondents in Paris, as well as their British colleagues, enjoyed complete freedom in communicating with their papers.

"However, the Peace Conference had not been at work for a week, and the Russian problem was being discussed, when Mr. Wilson and Mr. Lloyd George took exception to the amount of publicity the debates were given in the French press. They wished the exchange of opinion preceding the decisions to be kept secret, and the results only to be published. Mr. Lloyd George said:

"'I have come here with the idea that I shall have to change my point of view many times, and I do not want it to be said that I had to give away on such and such points.' When the armistice terms were being renewed, Mr. Wilson said:

"'Why do you allow your press to speak so frankly about my policies and make it impossible for me to make any concessions to you?'

"Following this, M. Clemenceau, yielding to pressure, made the famous decision not to allow anything to be published in the French press besides the official communiqué. However, he asked Mr. Wilson and Mr. Lloyd George to guarantee that the American and British press would be treated on the same terms. Both of them stated that they were unable to give such assurances, as the question was too serious to be decided offhand.

"On the following morning, however, the French papers, as a consequence of the warning, were very reticent. At the next sitting Clemenceau and Pichon said they would be unable to apply such a strict censorship if the American and British press continued to enjoy more favored treatment.

"In the meantime, it had been published in the French press that henceforth nothing would be said of what would take place in the secret meetings, and the impression it made in France and abroad was most unfavorable. In order to counteract it, and knowing well that they were responsible, Wilson and Lloyd George proposed that the whole question of publicity should be referred to the press itself—hence the very confusing debate which took place at a conference of the Allied journalists.

"The outcome was the decision that the press should be admitted at the plenary sittings of the Conference. But a reservation on this point was made by Mr. Wilson himself, and he wrote with his own hand on a slip of paper and handed it to the other leaders the suggestion that when necessary even the plenary sittings should be held in camera.

"The whole policy, then, was quite plain. A great show of publicity was to be made in a few instances when solemn and empty debates took place, but the real sittings of the leading men of the Conference, when the real work of the Conference was done, was to be kept hidden from the world.

"A few days before Mr. Wilson sailed back to America (the first time) he again protested against publicity, and a real censorship is being exercised over the French press. It should interest the American public to know that the French Censorship Bureau enjoys the assistance of two American officials, whose duty it is to advise as to modifying or admitting any expression of opinion which French publicists might make on American policies as expressed by Mr. Wilson. Here is a case in point:

"Last October I said in a leading article that President Wilson had refused to help the Czechoslovaks struggling on the river Volga. The French censor asked for the suppression of the passage, and since we refused, he called to his rescue his two American colleagues, detailed for the purpose, who then came to me with an air which plainly showed they did not relish their extraordinary task.

"As to cablegrams from our Washington correspondent suppressed here by our own censors, but to meet the wishes of Mr. Wilson, after Mr. Wilson's arrival in France several French papers printed communications from their Washington correspondents, American citizens who reported the trend in Congress on Mr. Wilson's policies, such as speeches by Senator Lodge and other leaders. Very soon it was known that these cablegrams had a very disturbing effect on the distinguished visitor at the Hôtel Murat and his entourage, and shortly after the censor cut out more and more of our American cablegrams. Here you see dozens of them which have been blue-penciled. These messages, moreover, did not contain any criticism originating from our own correspondents; they were in most instances merely reports of speeches in Congress, and no instructions whatever had been given our correspondents to take any line contrary to Mr. Wilson.

"The result of this form of 'open diplomacy' has been that France has been led to believe that America indorses Mr. Wilson's policies to the last man, and, moreover, French opinion as expressed in the French press has been represented throughout America as being unanimously in favor of Mr. Wilson's policies. In that way public opinion on both sides of the Atlantic has been prevented from free interchange from day to day, thereby to bring about that close approximation of view-point which is of such great value, and which alone makes mutual agreement and understanding possible.

"We have been mutually duped as to each other's views and feelings, and it is plain, therefore, that the consequences must be regrettable."

This fateful prophecy of "Pertinax" was uttered on February 15, 1918. Warnings of this state of things were sent to America by myself and other correspondents at the time. They were never published, granting they arrived.

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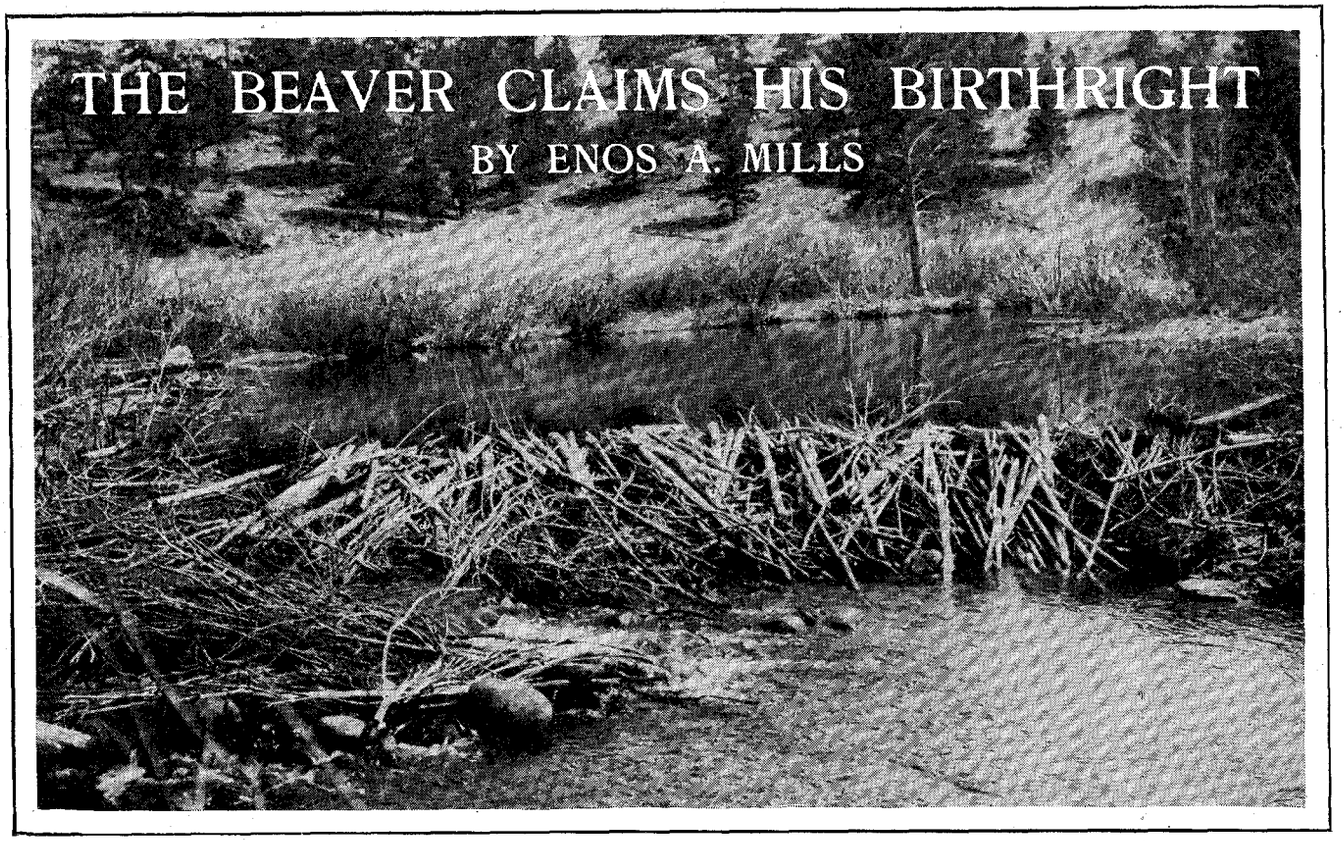
THE BEAVER CLAIMS HIS BIRTHRIGHT

BY ENOS A. MILLS



A BEAVER DAM

THE best and biggest news story from the natural history world is that beavers are coming back. They are coming back rapidly, they are multiplying in numbers, and they are also extending their land and water holdings. A few years ago they were verging on extermination. Now they are reoccupying the land of their fathers.

Some years ago I examined a beautiful hay meadow on a mountain ranch and found it a beaver-made meadow. It was a filled-in beaver pond. One corner of the old pond site was forested. This beaver work covered more than forty acres. The landowner writes me that this site has again and suddenly become a beaver pond. He is willing to donate a number of reservoir sites, but not this particular one.

In the Museum at Albany there is, or was a few years ago, a statue of a giant beaver. He was one of a numerous tribe which inhabited New York State a half million years ago. Beavers may rightfully be called the first settlers of America. They were the first large house-builders. This coming back is an expansion, a reoccupying of beaver territory. The buffalo are also coming back, multiplying, and extending their stamping-grounds. Both the beaver and the buffalo are Americans, and not foreign immigrants. The beaver nation in New York State was already old and numbered millions when the first European colonists came. The topography of the State was corrugated with beaver dams when New Amsterdam was built.

When Henry Hudson looked upon the Palisades there must have been at least a million beavers at the sources of the Hudson. The present population probably does not exceed twenty thousand. They can keep coming back for some time before they attain the peak of their former population or repossess their former territory.

When the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth, there were perhaps two hundred million beavers in America. If on a river map of North America for 1620 you place a line of dots as thick as they will show along every stream from source to sea, these dots will not be nearly numerous enough to indicate former beaver colonies.

The lower Mississippi, the lower Colorado, and a few other streams may have had too many alligators for beavers. And beavers were not on areas in the Bad Lands, nor above the tree line. But these areas embrace only a small percentage of the area of the country. However, along numerous streams for miles instead of one line of dots there should be several lines, with an occasional cluster of dots.

There now are cities with paved streets upon the sites of former Venetian beaver colonies. There are miles and miles of grain fields, innumerable orchards, leagues of forests, meadows dotted with cattle, and farms, homes, and schools now in possession of most of the territory where clustered beaver ponds sparkled across the continent in the sun.

Beaver ponds caused at least a million acres of land to be overspread with the richest of soil—alluvial sediment from streams.

But soil, the earth's greatest resource, is the chief contribution of beavers to National prosperity. Beaver works through the ages not only enriched but enormously extended the agricultural area of our land. In beaver ponds accumulated a vast area of our productive soil.

Beaver ponds are short lived. In a few years they wash full of sediment and soil. The beaver pond of to-day is a fertile field to-morrow. Buried and forgotten in our land are millions of beaver ponds. These during primeval years furnished plant food for grass and flowers and forests. This soil now is the life of the land and we possess it. Each spring countless sowers go forth to sow, each autumn there is the thrill of harvest home in countless golden fields and mirth and merriment among the rows of red-cheeked apples, where beaver ponds once sparkled amid primeval scenes.

Our beaver inheritance is monumental, and a monument honoring beavers would have a fitting place in every valley to which beavers are returning and in countless thousands to which they have not returned.

"Our first engineers"—beavers—had a beneficial influence on the flow of many streams. Their settling basins—ponds—precipitated the sediment upstream and prevented this going down to clog the deep-water channels.

Beaver ponds and dams compel floods to drive slow; they absorb flood shock and water excess. They delay the run-off. Each beaver pond is a poetic and perennial spring. From the toll of floods, from the excess of rainy days, it distributes to the stream every day. A beaver pond helps give clear water and sustaining flow.

The depositing of sediment, the stor-

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A BEAVER ON A BEAVER HOUSE

ing and the distributing of water, give beavers a place for consideration in deep waterway plans and in river and harbor appropriations. Beavers help reduce the billions of tons of sediment which we are told is annually swept into the sea or dropped in the lower slugggish channels of rivers—to hold up shipping and to add fire to the profanity of steamboat captains.

The present superior races that possess the former beaver empire have warranty deeds to this land, and in many cases the beavers that come back to it will be resisted, be treated as invaders.

Through the years I have written much concerning beavers, and their coming back has consequently brought me letters by the dozen. Many of the writers consider the new-coming beaver as a pest; they have tried to drive him off and have with amazement found him efficient and persistent in staying where he has settled.

One Western farmer writes that the beavers shut off his irrigation water when he needed it and turned this onto his neighbor's land up ditch at a time the neighbor did not want it. Both these men want "beavers to attend to their own affairs." The man up the canal says that his forty bee stands were turned into house-boats and that the water setting for his hay shocks caused his alfalfa field to look like a swarm of beaver houses.

The Indians spoke of the beaver as the fellow that cuts down trees. With less admiration a number of orchard owners are likewise speaking of him. Beavers have invaded apple, peach, and plum orchards and, regardless, felled trees right and left. Of course they felled these for a purpose and not for the fun of it. But the damage done was nevertheless one hundred per cent.

An owner of extensive orchards on the banks "where rolls the Oregon" came to see me. He now writes that the recommended chicken wire has thus far completely stopped beaver depredations, but that two miles of chicken wire is a heavy expense.

Incidentally and of tremendous interest is the fact that many of these humans protesting vehemently and justly against beaver activities are living on territory formerly occupied by beavers. The earth in which two orchards are growing, the alfalfa land, and even the wild flowers contributing to the forty stands of bees are all in soil deposited in ancient beaver ponds.

One mountain man with numerous groves and brooks on his none too productive place has suddenly found himself possessed by, or in possession of, several colonies and dozens of beaver inhabitants. It will not pay to dislodge the beavers. Why not, I wrote him, accept this gift and advertise a valuable fur farm for sale?

Two water-power companies report good results. They brought in beaver immigrants, and these colonized the stream sources which supply them with water.

A number of fishermen have written that increased numbers of beaver ponds offer fish excellent opportunities to multiply and come back.

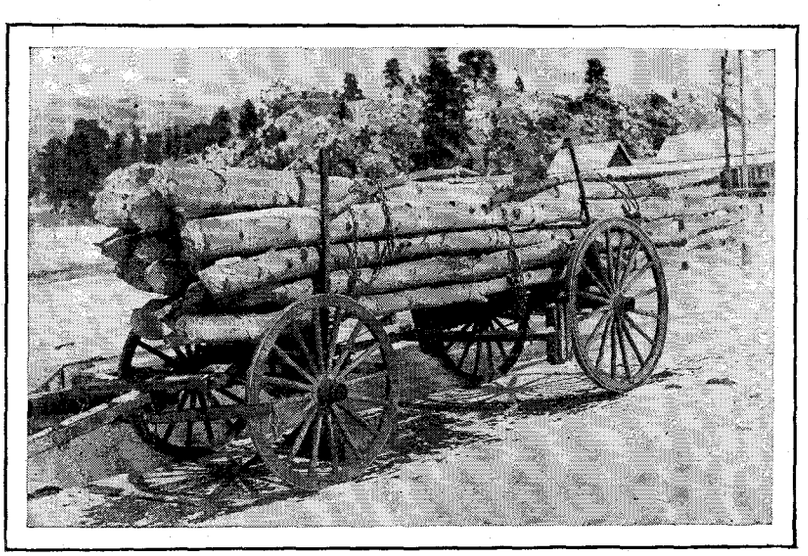
I visited two mountain homesteaders who were having their troubles in trying to dispossess the original beavers. Beavers had felled a large cottonwood tree upon a small homestead cabin. An adjacent neighbor had built a fence along a stream. The posts used were green, bark-covered aspens. Every post was cut down and dragged off by the beavers.

Dams are emphatic in letters from the Eastern States. Highway commissioners denounce beavers for flooding roadways, for holding up the traffic. Section foremen and road overseers charge beavers with maliciously and repeatedly filling culverts with trash—so that these culverts were out of commission at the time flood waters needed exclusive use. Farm lands are flooded and stream sides turned into swamps, acres of forest trees drowned, and a general damaging disregard shown for riparian rights, trespass signs, and contempt for the customs, possession, and the land titles of the landowners.

I, too, have had and am having first-hand experiences—twenty-odd new beaver ponds near my cabin in four years. Let one of these ponds be expanded—and that is normal with a beaver pond—and I shall know whether my ponderous stone fireplace foundation will stand submergence.

The beaver has been the star figure in the story of America. He was the beginning of numerous individual fortunes and he looms large when we look at the foundations of our vast National wealth.

Atlantic coast colonists used beaver skins for currency. Beaver trappers carried the star of empire westward. They were explorers, and sent back word of rich resources waiting everywhere beyond the frontier. The first permanent settlements in perhaps one-third of the States in the Union were made by beaver trappers. Though largely indi-



A WAGON-LOAD OF ASPEN TREES GNAWED DOWN BY BEAVERS AND APPROPRIATED BY A WOOD HAULER

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rectly, the beaver has hastened to an amazing degree the settlement and the development of the United States of America.

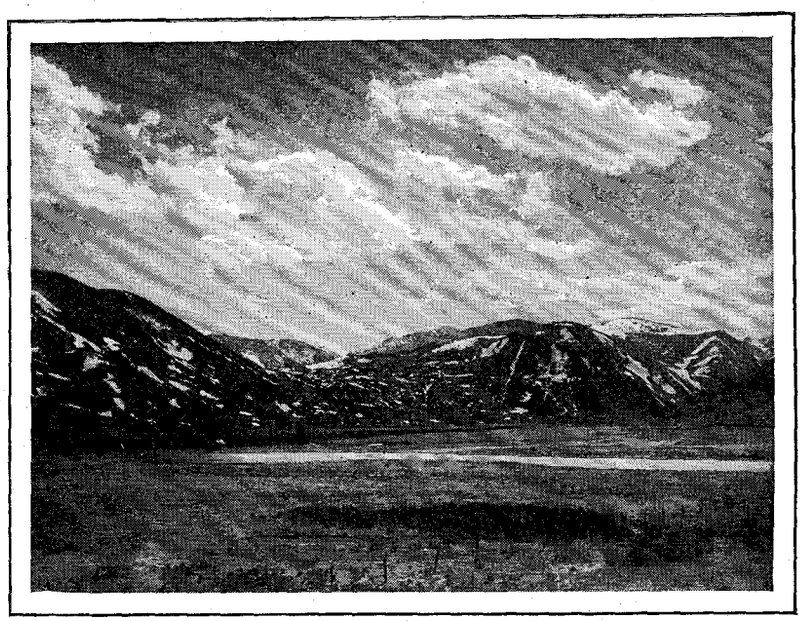
Much American history and stirring and poetic parts of our literature have beaver land for a setting. Beaver trappers inspired Jefferson. Then followed Bonneville, Astoria, James Bridger, Kit Carson, the American Fur Company, voyageurs, free trappers, Oregon and Washington, and finally Fifty-four-Forty or Fight.

For two hundred years the rigid and romantic Hudson's Bay Company was Canada, and beaver was the life of Hudson Bay. Horace T. Martin says that beavers figured in the settlement and the development of Canada and that the beaver "has been associated with the industrial and commercial development, and indirectly with the social life, the romance, and, to a considerable extent, with the wars of the country."

The numbers and the continental extent of the beaver, and especially the value of his skin, gave him numerous places in the nomenclature of the land. Dozens of towns, streams, and lakes are named for the beaver. Canadians honored him and themselves by making him their national emblematic animal. And he is on the State seal of Wisconsin.

At times he has dominated our wearing apparel—our fashions. Beaver robes and coats were pioneer comforts. And it was our fur-bearing friend and cooperator who contributed to the creation and for a time to the existence of that kingly headpiece, that autocratic presence, the stovepipe hat.

Beavers have legal protection, mostly by a closed season, in a majority of the States in the Union. In 1877 Missouri led off with legislation protecting these animals, and Maine followed in 1885. In most cases the legislators recognized that in some localities the beavers might be destructive and intolerable. To meet cases of this kind people whose property was damaged by beavers could obtain permission from the State Conservation Commission, or some other State authority, to trap or kill the beavers doing the damage. The skins of those killed became the property of the State. The legislators were wise enough to realize that there should be no blanket legislation which would allow State-wide killing.



A BEAVER MEADOW—WHERE BEAVERS FORMERLY LIVED AND SAVED SOIL

Beavers were the original conservationists of natural resources. They have lost most of their holdings, but not their place in the scheme of things. In numerous localities live beavers are more economically valuable to us than dead ones.

For a quarter of a century I have eulogized the beaver, and I still defend him. But the bald fact now is that he cannot be allowed to possess numerous localities once possessed by him without crowding out the present human population of these localities. But there are thousands of localities in our land in which beavers would still be of economic, educational, and even higher value to us.

In numerous hill, mountain, and other districts beavers may still serve us well. Their reservoirs can still deposit soil, check damaging floods, and make streams more valuable through equalized, reliable flow.

A beaver pond and its wild-flower border is useful and beautiful. A beaver house is the permanent home of primitive home-loving folk. Beaver works add beauty and charm to county, State, and National parks. People are made in their leisure hours, and beaver works will contribute suggestion—thoughts—much that is restful and inspiring, to the leisure hours of visitors. Perhaps the strangest contribution of the beaver to our thought material is the fact that his play period each year commonly is about sevenfold that of his work period. To work like a beaver does not mean dull slaving. Working like a beaver really means efficient work—play, plan, and achievement.

A visit to an inhabited beaver colony arouses and enriches the imagination. No nation rich in individual imagination has ever fallen. Beaver works intensify the lure and the spell of the wilderness.

THE FRENCH CIVIC UNION

BY CHARLES HENRY MELTZER

THE coal question is of vital interest. It touches all of us, both poor and rich Without coal there would be few industries. Take coal away, and we might freeze in winter. The miners' quarrel with the British mine-owners has affected the world—Britain directly, and this country at least indirectly. By some means, either forcible or peaceful, the mining problem must be solved, and soon, or the whole world may be involved in dreadful turmoil.

The question is bound up with wider issues, concerning capital and labor and entire communities. The miners and the men who own the mines were not the only factors in the conflicts which before and after the late war caused such commotion "over there" and here. All parties to the quarrel have their rights, their wrongs, their troubles, and their special harrying problems. And, though at times one might suppose the contrary, the public, above all, needs help and sympathy. The public has too long been made the victim of cynical combinations, labor unions, and strange laws. It has been forced to look on and to hold its hands while matters vital to its life and health were settled quite regardless of its wishes. The price of coal has been put up or down to suit two hostile groups. Enormous profits have been grabbed by mine-owners. Outrageous wages have been paid to miners.

We read of dividends which stagger by their iniquity, of wages which to most seem the reverse of just. The price of coal at the pit's mouth is not prohibitive. But from the pit's mouth to the bin is a long way. Between them stand the middlemen and railways, the transport workers of all kinds, the coal peddlers. Before we have a chance to

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warm ourselves we have to bear the costs resulting from those factors.

The public has been kicked and fleeced so long that it has almost lost the heart to enter protests. Here and abroad, and chiefly in Great Britain, labor in general has organized to terrorize it. The strike (miscalled the lockout) of the miners in Great Britain was followed by the threat of two allied groups—first the railway men, and next the transport workers—to tie up trade, to ruin private property, to make all social order a vain word. And still the public as a mass has not done much (though it has done a little) to reform conditions which it has neither brought about nor willed to be.

Yet if it only willed it might accomplish much to save itself from being crushed and wronged between the upper millstone of the mine-owners and the big nether millstone of the fighting miners. Few men are able, fewer still would like, to take to mining. The job requires long training and endurance, a willingness to bear distressing hardships. But of the millions of the unemployed abroad and in this country some would prefer a collier's life to misery. And, with intelligence, the stronger part of these might help to work the mines in an emergency.

Without the active backing of the rail and transport unions, the miners would, in any case, soon have to compromise. By freezing others they would harm themselves. For they, like all the rest, must work or die.

No one could wish the miners less than justice. Few really have much love for the mine-owners. The public has, however, a deep interest in its own dire needs. It cannot see why it should freeze or starve or bear extortions.

Strikes of the kind planned by the Triple Alliance in Great Britain spell more, much more, than strikes. They spell real war—war waged by an organized minority upon a helpless and unorganized majority. It was polite, of course, and tactful of Lloyd George to choose "misunderstanding" as a substitute for "conflict" at that conference of the hostile mine-owners and miners. But what he meant was "war"—just social war. He proved it when he not only called out the reserves but also asked for volunteers.

The fate of general strikes depends on the response the public makes to such appeals. If there are volunteers enough to step into the breach left by the miners, railroaders, and transport men, such strikes will fail. If not, there is no telling what may happen.

Among the first to realize these very simple truths there was a small group of well-meaning men and women, without capital or experience, who at a meeting in New York three years ago laid the foundations of the so-called People's League. The purpose of the League was so to organize the public as to enable it to fight all class oppression. Unhappily, the founders lacked resources. They are still hoping against hope for public help.

Meanwhile, in England an abortive People's League, with similar aims and a more fortunate organization, named the Middle Classes' Union, had been attempting to oppose the double tyranny of organized capital and labor. From time to time the latter of these leagues, or unions, has lent its influence and members to resist the over-dominant labor folk. Its efforts, like those of the New York People's League, have been discouraged by the middle classes' apathy. Internal wrangles over rules and persons have sadly checked its usefulness. Yet it has shown the public how it might be helped out of its quagmire of despond if only it would learn to help itself.

And the example of the New York People's League was not quite wasted. In an industrial crisis some two years ago a wealthy group or combination planned and formed another league of citizens to fight a transport strike. Since then we have heard little of this body. It may have been dissolved. It may still live. In an emergency it would, maybe, take shape again. And that emergency may come at any moment.

For one of the great facts of these hard times is the new solidarity of labor the world over. It calls for constant, temperate, careful, active vigilance as surely as the restless greed of capital.

A senseless lockout or a ruthless labor strike may deal a sudden blow at order in this country. We should stand ready, if need be, to keep the most essential wheels of life in motion. We must have light and gas and oil, food and means of transport. We must have railways and we must have coal and water.

The French, whom many sneer at as unpractical, have understood this better than ourselves. They have within the past few years had labor upsets of a very serious kind. Yet nowhere are the radicals of labor now less dangerous than in France.

For this the French may thank, to some extent, the common sense—the plain *bon sens*—of their own peasants. But they owe something—a great deal—to a well-ordered and efficient league of citizens known as the Union Civique, or Civic Union.

I had an opportunity last year to visit the leaders of this new organization, which, though it studiously avoids self-advertising and works very quietly, can at a pinch be counted on as an important aid of order. The president of the French Civic Union is a distinguished general, retired. The effective head, and incidentally the secretary, of the Union, M. Bienaymé de la Motte, has on his cards the words "Ex-Chef de Bataillon." During the war he was connected with the Conseil Supérieur de Guerre and served as Commandant at Interallied Headquarters. He has had dealings both with Haig and Pershing. And, though a man of charming modesty and tact, he stands for discipline.

In an illuminating talk with me last summer he outlined the chief objects of the Union, explained the methods which enabled it to carry on its useful work, and foreshadowed its establishment in the near future on a permanent basis. The funds it needs are raised by small subscriptions, ranging from two francs (the low fee for nominal membership) to five hundred francs. Subscriptions are divided into various categories, with rights and privileges which are also various. The central office in Paris (in what forty years ago was the St. Sulpice Seminary) is in close touch with ninety or more local branches. The total membership last year was rather small. The Union numbered hardly a full hundred thousand. But it was growing, gathering in recruits each day, and it was in its infancy. It had behind it, but not ostentatiously, the moral and, I think, material power of the French Government. Its chief activities were bent on the formation of a civic force which could at any time take up the tasks of striking servants of the general public and of rebellious Government employees. Recruits were chosen with the greatest care and not retained till they had proved their earnestness. Ex-soldiers, mill-hands, motormen, mechanics, cab-drivers, men and women able to take charge of telephones and telegraphic jobs, of course were welcome. But not unless they brought with them convincing evidence that they were honest and to be depended on.

Besides these more or less efficient members, the Union was last year enrolling, patiently and unobtrusively, thousands on thousands of as yet untrained and unskilled members, who were paid salaries while they went through their apprenticeships for public service.

The Union, I should add, was neither partisan nor anti-laborite. It had been formed for the one clear and proper purpose of protecting social order. Last spring, when the then mighty C. G. T. (the Confédération Générale du Travail, *i. e.*, the General Federation of Labor) tried to disrupt things as the British Triple Alliance may some day, it was half-fledged. And none the less at the first chance it got, with little fussing and no loss of life, it proved itself so capable that it prevented a grave breakdown of the service on the Paris, Lyons, and Mediterranean Railways.

No doubt, if it were called upon again, the Union Civique would be equal to the need. It would be able to keep the French cities lighted and supplied with water, to organize some sort of transportation in most places, and to assure, to some extent at all events, the working of the telephones, the posts, and telegraphs.

Such leagues do not, perhaps, solve the great problem of the relationship of class groups and the public; but they do show how much may be accomplished in emergencies such as menace us. What has been done abroad we might do here.

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NIGHT SAILING

BY BERNICE LESBIA KENYON

THE silver web across the sky
Is hung with trembling stars;
Moon, the spider, spun it high
And bright above our spars,
And then dropped down behind the sea
Till we should sail out quietly.

Now like a moth we move to-night
With dark sails wing and wing,
And take our soft and shadowed flight
For far adventuring;
The wind is fair, and tide at ebb—
How shall we miss the starry web?

BUFFALO INSISTS

BY THE MAYOR OF BUFFALO

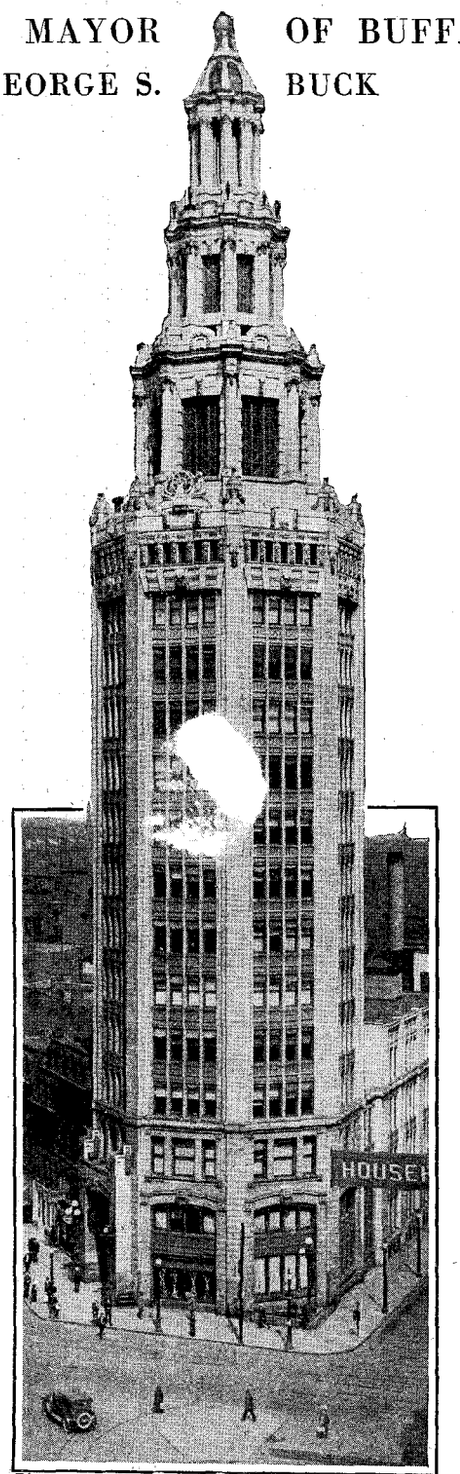
GEORGE S. BUCK

YEAR after year Buffalo wallowed in the mire of municipal corruption and inefficiency until about 909 a group of public-spirited citizens rganized themselves for the purpose of tudying the problem of city governnent with the end in view of trying to ring about better conditions. Speakers vere brought from all over the country. Various charters were studied and the ecision was finally reached to try to ecure a commission form of governnent for Buffalo. This is a term somewhat misleading to the uninitiated, beause a commission is usually an apointed board far removed from popular ontrol. Commission government in a unicipality is just the opposite of this. t is government by a small council, lected at large and wholly subject to opular control.

A commission charter for Buffalo was ntroduced in the Legislature. It was daring experiment because of the rge size of the city. The Legislature as most reluctant to grant it. The egular politicians did not want it, but he situation was critical. The city had eached the limit of its borrowing ower. So far as going ahead with unicipal improvements was concerned uffalo was bankrupt. The old party rganizations had nothing to offer to neet and deal with the crisis. The exedient of turning out one political arty after the other had been tried and ound useless. Efforts to elect an indeendent ticket had proved of no avail. t the hearing before the Cities Comittee of the Legislature citizens from ll walks in life appeared in such numers that the Senate Chamber was filled o overflowing. It was one of the most remarkable scenes which Albany had ever witnessed, for they had paid their own ay on a journey of six hundred miles.

During the closing hours of that session a great mass-meeting was held in uffalo from which by special wire mesages were flashed to Albany, and under he lash of this dramatic procedure the egislature very grudgingly passed a ill permitting the people of Buffalo to ote on the adoption of the commission harter. At the polls the proposal was arried two to one.

The new government took hold on the first day of January, 1916. It had to contend with the freakish financial phenomena engendered by the war, with continual restlessness among its employees from this cause, and with a cosmopolitan population representing in racial origin both allies and enemies. By the first of January, 1921, the new government had to its credit a better system of assessments, a policy rigorously pursued of paying off old debts instead of refunding them, with the result that the credit of the city in the money markets of the world was surpassed by no municipality; it had a borrowing capacity of $40,000,000 as against nothing five years earlier; the Police Department had been so conducted that the city was freer from vice than ever before in its history; the Fire Department's efficiency had been increased and the number of employees and fire-houses reduced; while the recreational facilities of the city and its hospitals and services to the needier portion of the population had been greatly extended. Problems which the old government had wrestled with for a long time and in which it made no progress, such as creating a turning basin in the harbor, reached a speedy solution under the new régime. All this was accomplished with an average rise of only fifty-three per cent in the cost of government, a figure below the operating increase of every kind of private business during the same period.



Photograph by Ewing Galloway, N. Y.

A BUFFALO SKYSCRAPER

Under the old Charter, if a citizen were interested in some matter requiring action by the municipality, it was necessary for him to appear first before a committee of the Board of Aldermen, then before the Board of Aldermen as a whole; next before a committee of the Board of Councilmen, then before the Board of Councilmen as a whole; and, finally, before the Mayor. No matter how much of a demonstration the citizens might make before a committee of the Board of Aldermen, when the committee went into executive session the alderman of the ward most concerned was first consulted, and it mattered little how much the rest of the city might wish certain action, if the alderman from that ward was opposed the committee sustained his opposition. It was

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hard for the citizens to be effective, and the number of times it was necessary for them to appear discouraged participation in public matters. Now the Council holds a town meeting every Friday afternoon. Its members are present, sitting as a committee of five, to which all matters requiring hearings are referred. The citizen needs to appear only once. The entire city government is present, because the Commissioners are heads of all the various city departments. The log-rolling between members of a large Board of Aldermen is no more. Instead, the five Councilmen elected from the entire city have a vision of the needs of the city as a whole. They are as sensitive to the views of people from the water-front as they are to those from the most prosperous residential sections. There is no delay in the settlement of any matter before the Council, so that a business man may quickly determine just where he stands. The people have gradually come to realize that their presence in the Council Chamber counts. The result is that they are coming in greater and greater numbers to the Council hearings and there are many more meeting with the city Commissioners each Friday afternoon than was ever the case with the committees of the former boards which had charge of the city's affairs. It has been a very easy matter to fix responsibility for mistakes or to get action. This is a striking contrast to the days when the best of intentions were lost in the labyrinth of boards, commissions, and legislative and executive officials.

One of the principles of the new Charter which it was framed to render easy of accomplishment was that any man who was doing his duty should be left undisturbed, no matter what his politics might be. This principle has been carried out, and there has been no scandal involving graft or corruption or thievery of any kind. Under aldermanic rule, whenever there was a municipal election there were certain voting precincts in the city in which it was necessary to employ as high as fifteen patrolmen to preserve order. Since the new Charter has gone into operation one patrolman to each precinct has been detailed only as a precaution. Plainly, nothing has been at stake making it worth while to buy or bulldoze or slug the voters.

Now this course of events was not at all pleasant to active politicians. Buffalo's Charter was planned to loosen the grip of machine politics upon city government, and it was working out just as it was expected to do. There were other elements which had reasons for dissatisfaction. There were some people who sincerely believed in party government. There were those who would like to profit by the permission to violate State and local laws in a way which they could not do under the direct responsibility placed upon the Mayor. There were those who preferred a corrupt board of aldermen but dared not openly advocate it. And then there was that element which always exists at all times and which is dissatisfied with whatever régime is in control.

Into this situation was projected on the first of January, 1920, a Councilman who for many years had been a chronic agitator. The public decided to give him a chance. He recognized no responsibility as an administrator in the affairs of half a million interdependent people, but continued to use his position as a platform for the advocacy of the most extreme and radical ideas. Without the slightest sense of dignity or courtesy, he gave way to the use of violent and abusive language, which at times goaded some of his colleagues beyond endurance.

A spirit of protest arose among the thinking people of the community. The politicians thought they saw an opportunity to overthrow the Commission Charter by capitalizing the dissatisfaction with the scenes enacted in the Council Chamber. A bill was introduced in the New York Legislature, late in the session of 1921, purporting to amend the Charter of the City of Buffalo. In reality, it was its uprooting. It proposed to turn over to a board of nine $2,500-a-year aldermen plus a Mayor and a Comptroller elected at large all the power and duties involved in administering the affairs of the great city of Buffalo. It was an absurd proposal. The authorship of the bill was never revealed. The Hon. George H. Rowe, its introducer in the Assembly, is a mere stripling in years and experience, and yet it received the almost unanimous support of the members of both houses. What Buffalo's most public-spirited citizens accomplished only after years of effort and by storming Albany *en masse* this youth achieved with ease. The sponsor for the bill in the upper house, Senator Gibbs, stated that both party organizations wanted it, and the solidity of the vote in its favor is conclusive evidence that he spoke the truth. Under the law of New York State, the bill could not go to the Governor if disapproved by the Mayor, unless repassed by the Legislature, as it was a local bill affecting the municipality. The bill provided that a special election be held on May 31 to decide whether the proposed Charter should be adopted. Under New York legislative procedure, the Governor might not have approved the bill until May 15, only sixteen days before the referendum. At any rate, the time would have been too short to organize an effective campaign against the serried ranks of the two great party machines. It was an attempted application in politics of the German war plan, that a disciplined force by quick action might crush a greater, unorganized, potential force.

When it became apparent that a serious effort was to be made to destroy the commission government of the city of Buffalo, citizens who had taken no interest in public affairs for years began to bestir themselves. The old Commission Charter Association, which had framed and put through Buffalo's Charter, revived. It rented quarters and began the work of gathering data, raising money, and enlisting speakers to conduct a campaign in behalf of the Charter. Citizens who before had grumbled at the conduct of certain of the Councilmen began to count their blessings under the present method of transacting the city's business as compared with the way in which it used to be done, and it was not long before the tide of public opinion was steadily rising in favor of the Commission Charter.

The Mayor announced a hearing on the bill before making his decision. This hearing was held on a Saturday afternoon at the City Hall. Never before was the Council Chamber so crowded with citizens representing every walk of life. The opposition to the Rowe Bill was led by the President of the Commission Charter Association, Dr. F. Park Lewis, a distinguished physician. The whole afternoon speaker after speaker voiced abhorrence of the idea of returning to the old aldermanic régime. There were delegates present from all kinds of organizations—from business men's associations, from women's clubs, from social bodies. Union labor came forward as a unit in support of the present type of city government. By careful count the membership represented at this hearing totaled over one hundred thousand persons.

Although the meeting was well advertised and the Council Chamber was crowded to the doors, there were only seven persons who appeared in favor of the Rowe Bill, and two of these seven were the members of the Assembly and Senate who were responsible for its introduction. All through that long afternoon until well after six in the evening men and women stood in the Council Chamber in order to listen to the proceedings and to take part in them.

The Mayor disapproved the bill in a message which had for its background the popular experience and attitude which this article has attempted to picture. He concluded with a summary which ran as follows:

"I am unwilling to impose upon the public the burden of expense in time and money involved in a special election to determine what is obvious.

"I am unwilling that this city of half a million people shall go back to the control of a bi-partisan political machine.

"I am unwilling that over eight million dollars of taxpayers' money or deposit, with forty million dollars additional borrowing power, all accumulated during the years of Commission rule shall be dissipated by a form of government discredited by experience and condemned by every student of economics.

"This bill forces an issue neither sought nor welcomed by our citizens and clearly not needed by the city."

Senator Gibbs announced that in view of the Mayor's veto he would not press the bill for repassage. This spelled its death, and once again Buffalo's public opinion had triumphed over an unwilling Legislature.

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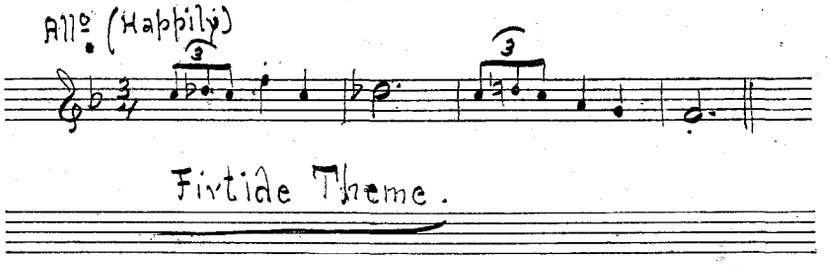
FIRTIDE

BY THEODORE STEARNS

FIRTIDE BOOKPLATE



AFTER years of restless wanderings to and fro, from Broadway to the Bronx and from Herald Square to Harlem, I am free to be my own landlord in my declining years. I have purchased a home of my own.

My little farm, which I have called "Firtide," is about thirty acres in extent and stretches from a sunny river road down to the banks of the Piscatauqua, which it borders for a thousand feet or more. There is a tide-water inlet on one side of the place and a clam cove cuddling the other boundary, so that the far-flung vista to the west, over river and bay, promises to be an admirable hide-away spot where I can retire and compose my *opus magnus*.

The rocky bluffs, sloping meadows, and irregular shore line, all topped by tangled birch and thick clumps of lofty white pine forest, suggest a rambling old estate by nature picturesque, and, although small for a country place, it seems, to my untutored eye, accustomed to hotel rooms or wedged-in apartments, a vast and incalculable expanse of property.

Why, Firtide is as large as the whole theatrical district of Manhattan. I mean to say that if I put my house on the high bluff where the Times Building now stands Clam Cove would be Columbus Circle. And, by the same token, if River Road were Broadway, my shore line would be Eleventh Avenue, bejabbers!

It is bewildering to sit down in this rush of modern civilization, with its changing geography and laws and income taxes, and soberly prepare to hew out of a thirty-acre patch of abandoned wilderness a home for posterity, even as my forefathers did.

There is a curious thrill to one like myself, a musical director, whose life has been spent in the orchestra pits of Broadway productions, at the thought of clearing a bit of land for a potato patch, or planting a tree that may afford shady trysts or gracious fruits years hence for those whom I may never see.

I can hardly hope that by sweat of brow and sturdy brawn the swing of my ax will ever alter the scenery of Firtide. Nor do I wish it. I have seen scenery enough in my time. I will much prefer to let the old winding, overgrown road that leads through the firs to my newly acquired tumble-down house on the bluffs go winding still, and, if I miss the traffic rushing up and down the Great White Way, I'll sit, Gulliver-fashion, beside the outlet to my inlet when the tide pours in and out and listen to my own Niagara Falls.

I might even harness this five-foot ebb and flow and, in time, develop power sufficient to saw my cord-wood, for I rather mistrust my first introduction to the ax. But I feel sure that I will be able to set out a young orchard, and on this point alone I am speculating with keen interest. Will these trees meet the appetites of the yet unborn?

In the nursery school of bottle or breast they have their own imperious say, and who can presage what their taste will be? Will they prefer apple, peach, or grape? It is a curious question as to whether the coming century will bring to Firtide another tea party or another amendment.

Of food there is a natural plenty. In the rapidly flowing Piscataqua there is abundance of fish, and Clam Cove fairly bristles with succulent bivalves. Back of the old house there are some ancient apple and cherry trees, still bearing bravely, according to their blankets of blossoms this spring. Along the river road and over my pasture are two or three acres of wild raspberries, and on the southern hill above Clam Cove I found a carpet of wild strawberries.

On second thought, it will still be well to plant some vegetables, for I have just read from a quaint little book that the Indians who formerly overran this section of the country invariably took sick on too much sea food, and until the regular season of wild fowl and venison came in they usually sulked in cave and tepee.

The little book to which I refer is a quaint miscellany of how some of the ancestors of my new neighbors came to be. It appears that these early settlers of York County, Maine, were for the most part dissenters, and many of them claimed kinship with the Puritans. According to the weather-beaten tome, fierce Indian battles were won and lost across the wooded bluffs of Firtide, and it would not surprise me in the least to turn up a skull or two when I begin to grub around my fruit trees or coax the peaceful radish from its twenty-day sleep.

Hard upon the heels of this interesting information I find that some of my dead-and-gone neighbors were substantial slave-owners, and I am chiefly worried lest one or two of them may not have been buccaneers. There is an admirable stony point on the shore of my farm which hugs Clam Cove and around which the waves lash at high tide that might well have been a nocturnal rendezvous for some lesser Kidd or Morgan. However, I would not go so far as to dig under the brow of the hill for Spanish doubloons or pieces of eight.

As a matter of fact, on my first flying visit to the farm I was sure I heard the clanking of a gibbet chain, only to find, upon investigation, that the discord was but the groaning of some piles which support the ancient bridge over the inlet as the incoming tide lapped them back and forth in a barnacled embrace.

Much to my amazement and dismay, I also read of how the first owner of my two-hundred-year-old house on the bluff was struck by lightning and found dead standing up in the doorway! He had stepped to the door, it appears, with a wash-basin in his hands to collect rain water when the crash came. The case of his huge silver watch was entirely melted away by the thunderbolt, but the works were uninjured. Whether the timepiece was found still ticking, or not, the chronicle does not say.

I wonder if I will see him on the first blustering thunder night I take possession. What with Indian graves, a pirate or two, and some dead men who stand up in doorways, I am likely to have some astral visitors to contest my claims, but, like Washington Irving's Bold Dragoon, I feel that I am too widely traveled to fear an old man who had no better sense than to step out into a thunder-storm with a wash-basin in his hand.

And as for the Indian "hants" or rakish slavers, I, who know a Lamb's Club and many seasons of Broadway runs and one-night stands, need fear them not. At least I will have plots for operettas a-plenty, and at my own door, now that the reign of jazz is over and the voice of true melody is heard in the land.

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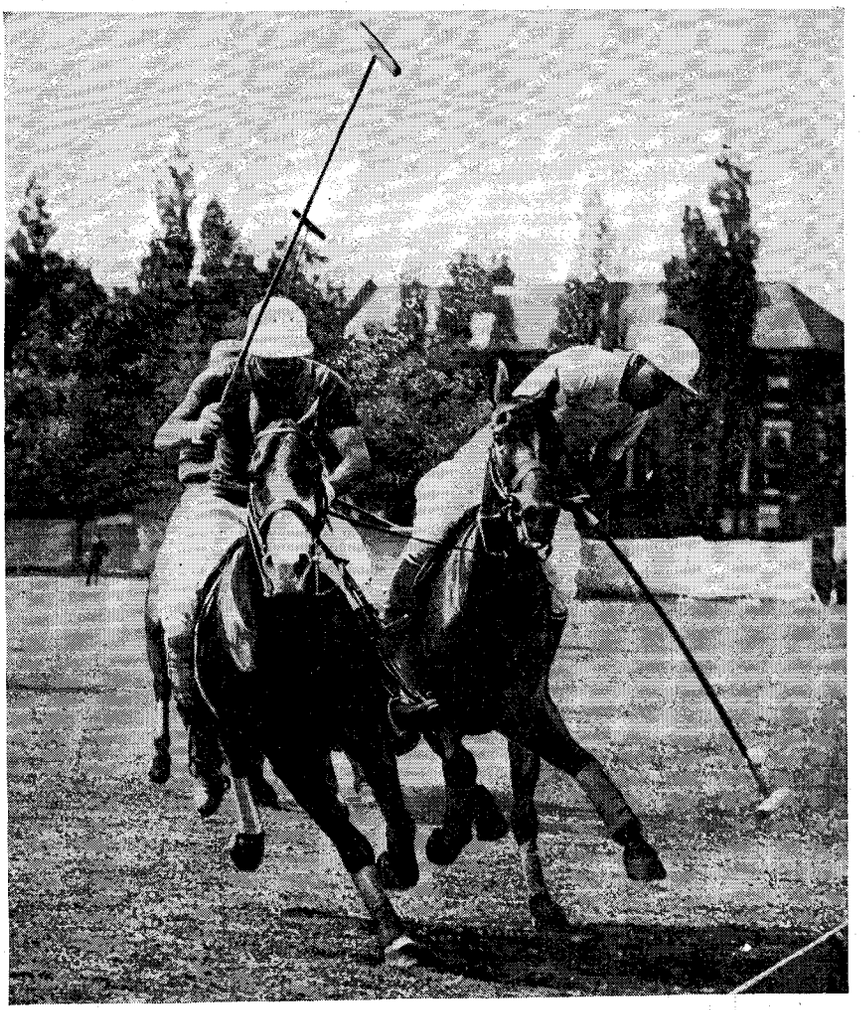
INTERNATIONAL SPORT



Wide World Photos

To win or lose in a fair competition is a sure means of developing respect for one's opponents. That is why international sport develops international friendliness. This is particularly true of amateur sport. Polo, though restricted to comparatively few who can afford the expense of the game, arouses wide interest because of the spirited nature of the game and its fine traditions of sportsmanship. The American team this year won a decisive victory over the British team. The picture here presents Mr. Hitchcock, of the American team, winning the race for the ball with one of the British players, Lord Wodehouse

Bain

Miss Cecil Leitch, who by her victories over American and French opponents, has won the undisputed title to the golf championship of the world for women

(C) Keystone

William T. Tilden, the American tennis champion, who has won also the championship of England and France, as well as the world's championship at Wimbledon, England

Bain

Mlle. Suzanne Lenglen, the French player who has won not only the English tennis championship for women, but also, in international matches, the women's world title

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THE BOOK TABLE

HOW TO STUDY THE BIBLE[1]

BY LYMAN ABBOTT

PROFESSOR SMITH defines the purpose of this book in the first two sentences of his preface: "This series of studies is prepared for the use of adult Bible classes. It aims to put into the hands of busy men and women a guide for the consideration of the fundamentals of a Christian faith."

He apparently regards these two aims as identical. But for many they are not identical. The Roman Catholic regards the Bible as the source of Christian faith only as it is authoritatively interpreted by the Church; and at the other extreme are scholars who consider some of the teachings of the Bible as not only not Christian but anti-Christian. Thus by some the teaching of Paul and the teaching of Jesus are interpreted as in direct conflict. We wish that Professor Smith had confined himself to the first of these purposes—the interpretation of the Bible—for which it is admirably adapted, in spite of some incursions into philosophy, inspired by his second purpose, to lay down the fundamentals of the Christian faith.

He assumes with the author of the Second Epistle to Timothy that the object of the Bible is to equip men for godly living, and he applies its teachings not to abstract theological questions which scholars have raised since the last book of the Bible was written but to vital questions which existed before the Bible, and would exist if there were no Bible; such questions as the relation of creed to deed, or right thinking to right living, the nature of God, the nature and needs of man, the meaning of faith, and how to meet trouble and temptation.

With this brief explanation of the book I use it as a text for some reflections on Bible study.

There is a great difference between study *about* the Bible and study of the Bible. One might study in cyclopædias and treatises such questions as, Did Bacon or Shakespeare write the plays which tradition attributes to Shakespeare? When were those plays written? What use did the authors make of previous literary material? And he might never read a play through or acquire any appreciation of Shakespeare's literary qualities. So one may, and many do, study such questions as, When were the various books of the Bible written? By whom? What, if any, previous material did any of their authors use? How and by whom were the various books brought together and made one book? And he might never read any book in the Bible through, or have any idea whether it gives one consistent answer to the ethical and spiritual problems which life is continually presenting to all thoughtful minds, and if so, what that answer is.

To study *about* the Bible is to study questions of authorship, date, and composition. To study the Bible is to study the various books which compose it for the purpose of ascertaining its answer to such questions as, Who is God? What is man? What are his duties? What are his reasonable hopes and aspirations? and What is the relation between him and God? To such study Dr. Smith's book is a very useful guide. It should be studied with a Bible at hand for convenient and frequent reference.

In this study two simple but very fundamental principles should always be kept in mind.

The first of these principles is that the Bible is a library, composed of sixty-six different books, written by at least forty or fifty different writers, and that a period of not less than a thousand years, probably more, elapsed between the date of the first and that of the last books which compose it. The unity of the Bible is that of spirit not of form, a unity of minds living under different civilizations, in different ages of the world, speaking under different circumstances, and to different circles of readers.

The other principle is that the Bible contains reports of religious errors as well as of religious teaching intended to correct them. If it contained no record of errors, it could be no true history. No one could understand Abraham Lincoln if he did not understand the nature of American slavery and the apologies and defenses that were made for it. No one can understand Isaiah if he does not know something of the paganism which surrounded and the semi-paganism which pervaded Israel. The notion that there are no errors recorded in the Bible and none reflected in the utterances of its teachers leads inevitably to the blunder of the judge who said: "We have the highest possible authority for saying, 'All that a man hath will he give for his life,'" and was humiliated to be told the next day by a daily newspaper that it was Satan who said it.

Let me illustrate these two principles by applying them very briefly to the Bible teaching concerning immortality.

Unillumined man cannot conceive of spirit apart from the body. In this respect he is like some highly educated scientists of to-day, whom I nevertheless venture to call unillumined. He cannot picture to himself an unembodied spirit, so he constructs an idol of wood or stone to represent his deity, and represents him hideous and wrathful, as does the African, or placid and indifferent, as does the East Indian. So when a man dies his friends embalm the body and seal it up against decay that it may be ready for the return of the spirit, or bury bows and arrows with the body that the departed may have them in the "happy hunting-ground," or conceive the dead as a shadow dwelling in a land of shadows. Mrs. Harker, in one of her charming stories of child life, has told of a little boy who had been accustomed to play cards with a grandfather who impressed upon his grandson the importance of always having a clean pack. When the grandfather died, the little boy crept into the room where the body lay awaiting burial and put a clean pack of cards into his hand. This is what humanity did in the childhood of the race.

The Jewish people shared this common feeling of mankind. Job expresses the common faith of his time: "As the waters fail from the sea, and the flood decayeth and drieth up; so man lieth down, and riseth not; till the heavens be no more, they shall not awake, nor be raised out of their sleep." Hezekiah in his prayer gives expression to the same conception of death: "The grave cannot praise thee, death cannot celebrate thee; they that go down into the pit cannot hope for thy truth."

Faith in a life beyond death was not possible till man had born in him faith in a deathless life as a present possession.

Still pursuing our study of the Bible, we come to the pregnant fact that faith in immortality, which painted on the tomb of the catacombs the emblems of hope, came when faith in the spiritual life and the possibility of that spiritual life for the children of men was born. Jesus brought life and immortality to light, and he brought immortality to light by bringing life to light.

He disclosed to his disciples a new kind of happiness. It is to be found, he said, in ourselves not in our possessions, in what we *are* not in what we *get*. Blessed, men thought, are the grasping, for they get the earth. "Blessed," said Jesus "are the meek; for they *inherit* the earth." The truly happy souls are those that give their lives to service and take what comes to them as a gift.

He disclosed to his disciples a new kind of ambition—ambition for service. "Among the Gentiles they that are great exercise authority over them. But it shall not be so among you; but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister."

He disclosed to his disciples a new kind of piety. "Great is Jehovah's mercy toward them that fear him," said the Psalmist. The piety of the Old Testament Jew was founded on fear. Christ founded piety on love. "He that loveth me shall be loved of my Father . . . and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him." The happiness of character grows with our growth and neither old age, infirmity, nor sickness can rob us of it; the ambition to serve can always find occasions for service and it is never satiated; the piety founded on love brings us a divine companionship which removes the fear of death.

As we possess immortality we believe in it.

[1] Fundamentals for Daily Living. By Robert Seneca Smith, Professor of Biblical Literature at Smith College. The Woman's Press, New York City. $1.50.

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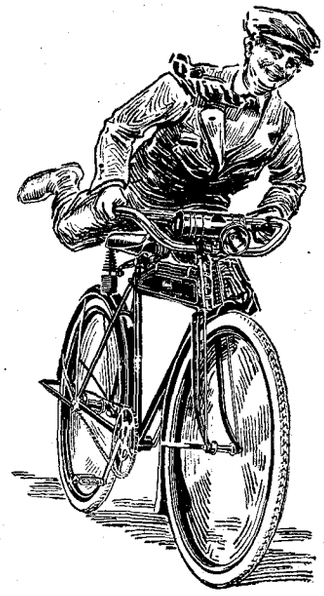

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TRANSPORTATION EQUALITY

BY M. L PULCHER

Many States have been recently considering special legislation against heavy motor trucks and are levying onerous taxes on such trucks with the idea of thus securing protection for their roads. Mr. M. L. Pulcher, a well-known motor-truck manufacturer, believes that trucks should be taxed—but only in just proportion to such taxes as are levied on other forms of transportation.—THE EDITORS.

MANY States are proposing legislation to limit the load that can be carried by a motor truck to such a degree that thousands of firms and men now owning heavy-duty equipment will be forced out of business and the capital invested in their trucks will be almost a total loss. Also State and National taxation of motor trucks and passenger cars is being carried to an unreasonable point.

It seems that the old fable of killing the goose that laid the golden eggs has been forgotten, for motor trucks are one of the greatest aids to commerce that we have to-day. Motor trucks hauled 1,200,000,000 tons of freight in this country in 1920. This stupendous tonnage was almost one-half that carried by the railways in the same twelve months, which amounted to 2,504,000,000 tons.

If the fast-motor haulage had not fed the railways, then the latter could not have transported this great volume. On the other hand, if the railways had not borne the burden of the long haul, then the trucks could not have had the shipments to deliver at the other end.

But there are other ways in which the motor truck helps business and Government besides quantity of goods hauled. The profits made in manufacturing them are taxed by the Government. An additional excise tax is collected on the sale of each motor truck. The eventual owner also pays a State license tax, usually based on horse-power and weight. And, in addition to all this, some States are now collecting a fixed sum for heavy-duty trucks. In others, they are taxing them off.

There are five main means of transportation to-day—steam, electric, inland waterways, motor vehicle, and horses. Each one is particularly suited to certain kinds of transportation, and should be allowed to do that haulage for which it is fitted with the least hindrance. They all serve the public, which, in the end, is the Government. There should be no discrimination against any one of these as opposed to the other. Each should grow and develop in proportion to its usefulness to the country.

If some one answers, "The automobile and truck spoil our good roads," just ponder over this fact—it is the automotive vehicle that has brought us the better highways and has contributed largely to their maintenance. Two-thirds of the 9,000,000 automobile and 1,000,000 trucks are owned by people

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TRANSPORTATION EQUALITY
(*Continued*)

whose incomes are $4,000 or less per year. Ninety per cent of these car owners use their passenger cars more or less for business.

As far as traffic laws are concerned, motor-truck manufacturers and motor-truck operators are agreed that there should be laws governing the gross weight, width and length of vehicle, and load, and that the first of these, the weight, should be on the tire-inch basis, but they feel that all States should have a uniform law. Much motor-trucking to-day is inter-State, and as they are regulated to-day operators never know whether they are breaking the laws until they are held for some infraction.

The Federal Highway Council Uniform Road Law is eminently fair, we believe, to all roads and to all truck owners. This law limits gross weight to 28,000 pounds and 800 per tire-inch, and speeds on pneumatic tires up to this limit of weight to 25 miles per hour. Lesser speeds are provided for different weights on solid tires. Fifteen States have already adopted this law, which is indorsed by many highway officials and associations. Legislation that limits weight and speed of motor trucks should be the same the country over, the same as that governing rates on common carriers.

That our present National Government realizes these things, and will eventually bring about an equality of burden on the various forms of transportation is my firm belief, based somewhat on President Harding's own statement that "the motor vehicle has become an indispensable instrument in our political, social, and industrial life, and that highways are not only feeders to the railroads and afford relief from their local burdens, but that they are actually lines of motor traffic in inter-State commerce."

It is certain that the automobile and truck are vehicles of usefulness. They are common conveyances, necessary to the business man, the professional man, and the farmer. Such an additional tax on them as was recently proposed by Secretary of the Treasury Mellon would be as senseless as one levied on the farmer's horse and wagon or upon every boat plying our rivers and lakes.

Does shaving irritate your skin?

EVEN the sharpest razor blade will irritate a skin that is sensitive. Yet there is no need for you to endure irritation when you shave.

Try Ingram's Therapeutic Shaving Cream, and see how comfortable your shave will be. Ingram's Therapeutic Shaving Cream has an exclusive medicinal property that soothes the sensitive skin, heals little cuts. Leaves your face smooth and cool. No need to use a lotion.

Get your first jar from your druggist to-day—50c. If your druggist is not supplied, send us 50c and give us his name and address. We will mail you a jar of Ingram's Therapeutic Shaving Cream and a tube of Ingram's Zodenta for the teeth.

FREDERICK F. INGRAM COMPANY
Windsor, Ont. 72 Tenth St., Detroit, Mich.

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(The "City Four-Square")
A beautiful Sacred song for Church or Home
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Important to Subscribers

When you notify The Outlook of a change in your address, both the old and the new address should be given. Kindly write, if possible, two weeks before the change is to take effect.

BY THE WAY

"IT is only twenty-five years ago," says a writer in the "Railway Age," "that the newspaper men of New York City were invited to see a 600-ton passenger train slowly pulled out of the Grand Central Terminal by what was then considered a monster locomotive. That locomotive is now hauling a milk train on a branch line. It and its class have given place to really powerful locomotives that were not then dreamed of. To-day the fastest long-distance trains in the country weigh twice as much as the exhibition train referred to. In five years the average revenue train load of the country as a whole has increased from 475 tons to 728 tons, or an increase of over 53 per cent since 1915."

Among the navigators of small sea craft the "Wide World Magazine" gives a high place to Captain Thomas Drake, a descendant of the famous circumnavigator, Sir Francis Drake. Captain Drake sailed alone during four years over 22,000 miles in a 32-foot boat, the Sir Francis. The little craft was finally wrecked off the coast of Salvador, but Captain Drake succeeded in reaching shore. Inhospitable natives of the bandit variety here met him and completed his misfortunes by relieving him of all his remaining possessions. He finally reached his home at Seattle, however, in good spirits and ready to begin a new career of adventure.

The great steamship Imperator, formerly a German liner, is to join the fleet of the Cunard Line under the name Berengaria. In the selection of this name the Cunard Line has made a departure from its usual custom of calling its vessels after the classical names of provinces of the Roman Empire. Berengaria was the wife of Richard I of England, the "Lion-Hearted." He married her at Cyprus during one of the Crusades.

Egypt, the home of the Sphinx and the Pyramids, is often supposed to be somnolent like them. A correspondent of the New York "Times," however, gives this testimony as to the advanced style of advertising sometimes seen in Cairo: "At the funeral of a wealthy

HELP WANTED

Teachers and Governesses

WANTED—Master in French and Spanish in Episcopal boarding school in the East. Salary $2,500 and living. Successful experience required. Quick action desired. 177, Outlook.

SITUATIONS WANTED

Professional Situations

YOUNG physician offers medical services. Will travel. 185, Outlook.

POSITION in college or large school by registered nurse; trained social worker. 190, Outlook.

Business Situations

SECRETARY: college graduate, stenographer, bookkeeper, shopper, hostess. Seven years' experience. Exceptional recommendation. 186, Outlook.

WANTED—Resident or non-resident position as social or literary secretary or chaperon, preferably in Washington, D. C. Social and business references. Box 246, Williamsburg, Va.

Companions and Domestic Helpers

LADY at present engaged as housemother in large school desires change to similar position or as chaperon in young ladies' school. References. 183, Outlook.

SITUATIONS WANTED

Companions and Domestic Helpers

WANTED—Position by school secretary as traveling or nurse-companion. Capable of taking entire charge of nervous or chronic invalid. Best references. College graduate. 168, Outlook.

MANAGING housekeeper, social secretary, companion, chaperon, care of motherless girls, or any post of trust and responsibility desired by well-bred Englishwoman. Takes entire control. Invaluable to delicate elderly lady or gentleman. Sympathetic in trouble and illness. Highly cultured. Highest references. Liberal salary. 181, Outlook.

CULTIVATED gentlewoman, experienced housekeeper and trained nurse, wishes position in home or institution where conscientious work will be appreciated. Preferably where she could have daughter of nine years. Disengaged September. Mrs. Miller, 21 Northampton Road, Amherst, Mass.

COMPANION, refined, well educated, desires position—useful to lady or couple. References. 191, Outlook.

YOUNG lady, well educated, college graduate, desires position as nurse-companion to convalescent. Undergraduate, but practical experience, speaks French, musical, willing to travel. References exchanged. Canadian. 194, Outlook.

SITUATIONS WANTED

Teachers and Governesses

GOVERNESS—Experienced teacher would take charge of child until October. University graduate, artistic, musical, fond of outdoors. 188, Outlook.

YOUNG woman of best family, graduate of standard college, also studied in Europe, desires position in wealthy family. Prefers preparing older children for college. References exchanged. Miss Margaret Young, Union, South Carolina.

GOVERNESS-TEACHER, refined, well educated, experienced, desires position in school or family. Splendid for backward children. References. 192, Outlook.

SEPTEMBER. Englishwoman as resident tutor. Advanced music (piano, harmony) and English. French (good), Italian (elementary). Highest references. Experience. Eleven years in this country. 187, Outlook.

MISCELLANEOUS

PHILIP BURROUGHS STRONG.—Supply preacher, lecturer, occasional speaker, Sunday evening story-teller, Bible recitationist. Plainfield, N. J.

MISCELLANEOUS

BOYS wanted, 500 boys wanted to sell The Outlook each week. No investment necessary. Write for selling plan, Carrier Department, The Outlook Company, 381 Fourth Ave., New York City.

M. W. Wightman & Co. Shopping Agency, established 1895. No charge; prompt delivery, 44 West 22d St., New York.

EXCEPTIONAL care for child in lovely country home. Endorsed by prominent physician. Conscientious mother (former teacher), tutoring if desired. $15-$20 weekly. References. 176, Outlook.

MISS Guthman, New York shopper, will send things on approval. No samples. References. 309 West 99th St.

TO young women desiring training in the care of obstetrical patients a very thorough nurses' aid course of six months is offered by the Lying-In Hospital, 307 Second Ave., New York. Monthly allowance and full maintenance is furnished. For further information address Directress of Nurses.

OUR customers say this is the finest stationery they ever used. Ask for free samples and you will say the same. 200 sheets notepaper and 100 envelopes, $1.50. Lewis, 234 Second Ave., Troy, N. Y.

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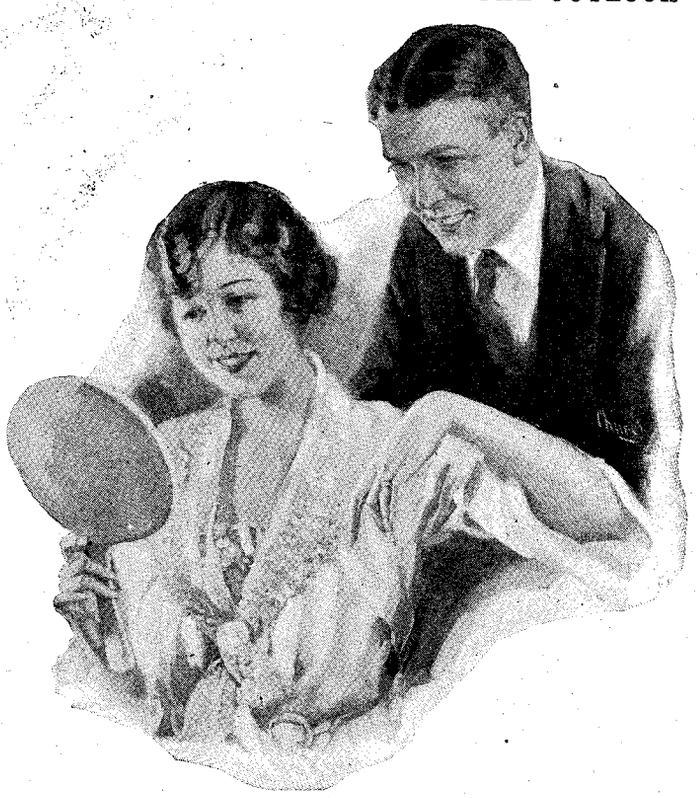

This Test

Told Millions the way to pretty teeth

Millions of people have already made this simple ten-day test. And the glistening teeth you see everywhere now are largely the result of this method.

We urge you to make it. Then see and feel how your teeth conditions change.

Must fight film

You must fight film to keep your teeth whiter, safer and cleaner. Film is that viscous coat you feel. It clings to teeth, gets between the teeth and stays. The tooth brush, used in old ways, does not remove it all. So very few people have escaped the troubles caused by film.

It is the film-coat that discolors, not the teeth. Film is the basis of tartar. It holds food substance which ferments and forms acid. It holds the acid in contact with the teeth to cause decay.

Millions of germs breed in it. They, with tartar, are the chief cause of pyorrhea. And all these troubles have been constantly increasing.

To daily combat it

Dental science has for years been searching for a daily film combatant. It has now been found. Careful tests under able authorities have amply proved its efficiency. Leading dentists everywhere now advise its use.

The methods are embodied in a dentifrice called Pepsodent. And to millions of people, here and abroad, it has brought a new era in teeth cleaning.

Ask for this ten-day test

Ask for a ten-day test. Then judge by what you see and feel how much this method means.

Each use of Pepsodent brings five desired effects. It attacks the film in two efficient ways. It leaves the teeth so highly polished that film cannot easily adhere.

It multiplies the salivary flow—Nature's great tooth-protecting agent. It multiplies the starch digestant in the saliva, to digest starch deposits that cling and may form acid. It multiplies the alkalinity of the saliva, to neutralize the acids which cause tooth decay.

These results all accord with modern dental requirements. Everybody, every day should get them.

Send the coupon for the 10-Day Tube. Note how clean the teeth feel after using. Mark the absence of the viscous film. See how teeth whiten as the film-coat disappears. You will be convinced. Then the benefits to you and yours may be life-long in extent.

Cut the coupon now.

10-Day Tube Free 567

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Mail 10-Day Tube of Pepsodent to

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Only one tube to a family

PAT. OFF.
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The New-Day Dentifrice

A scientific film combatant, whose every application brings five desired effects. Approved by highest authorities, and now advised by leading dentists everywhere. All druggists supply the large tubes.

BY THE WAY
(Continued)

Copt," he says, "which I saw passing Shepheard's yesterday afternoon, there was a big sign printed on white paper on both sides of the hearse which read, 'Telephone 610'—just a bit ahead of the undertakers' methods of advertising in the Western world."

"The old journalist," says Mr. C. K. Shorter, of the London "Sphere," in describing some changes in British journalism, "thought that politics were the very center of the newspaper world. Lord Northcliffe was the first newspaper proprietor to discover that there were vastly more people interested in sport than in politics. In a copy of the 'Daily Mail' to-day, out of thirty-six columns of editorial matter, only half a column is devoted to politics. There is four times the space devoted to golf, and the leader on garden flowers is longer than the political one."

What happens to the films when a "picture" that is only partly taken loses its chief figure by death? Sometimes, an authority tells us, they are sacrificed; sometimes the directors succeed in finding an "understudy" who can look and act the part well enough to make the films worth completing. Three-quarters of a million dollars had been spent on a picture called "Foolish Wives," it is stated, when the chief character died. The country was searched far and wide for a duplicate hero, and at last he was found. When "'Way Down East" was one-fourth completed, a young actress who had an important part in it died. Her piquant young face had been imprinted on scene after scene. In this case all the films were sacrificed; another ingénue was engaged and every scene was retaken.

The personal column of the London "Times" is an unfailing source of amusement to discriminating readers. Why some advertisers should be willing to pay a minimum charge of ten shillings ($2.50) for the matter they insert is a puzzle. Here are three specimens from a recent issue:

I.Z.—Have lost the ring again.—Nadia.

A GIANT might have found it. A letter would be more discreet and might tell more of Will o' the Wisp.

THREE ANTI-JAZZERS, fed up with "holiday resorts," want HOME for August; suggestions welcomed. Write Box U.495, The Times.

Mrs. W (as reported by the humorist of the Boston "Globe")—"You don't ever nag your husband, do you?" Mrs. G—"Only when he is beating our rugs. When he is thoroughly irritated he does a much better job of it."

Electrically operated railways are able to favor their patrons with open cars in summer without subjecting them to the discomfort of breathing coal smoke. Carrying out this idea, the Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Paul road, according to the "Railway Age," is converting a number of sleeping and parlor cars into open observation cars to be used on the company's electrically operated lines in the Rocky and Cascade Mountains.

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